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A T T I C U S , L U C I U S , J U N I U S ,

A N D O T H E R S .

With O B S E R V A T I O N S and N O T E S .

L O N D O N :

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A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

*This Day is published, in two Volumes, Price
10 s. bound and lettered,*

A NEW and IMPARTIAL COLLECTION of INTERESTING LETTERS from the public papers ; many of them written by Persons of Eminence, on a great variety of important subjects, which have occasionally engaged the public attention ; from the accession of his present Majesty, in October 1760, to May 1767 ; particularly on Mr. Pitt's resignation in 1761 ; Lord Bute's accession in 1762 ; the peace, and other measures of that administration ; Lord Bute's resignation in 1763 ; all the original letters, papers, &c. &c. relative to the North Briton, and every branch of Mr. Wilkes's case ; with a careful selection of all the constitutional essays, and judicious observations on the various interesting points of that celebrated public cause ; the whole of which were never before collected together : Several valuable papers on trials by juries ; the remarkable letters on the change of administration in 1765, by Anti-Sejanus, the occasional writer, J. J. &c. &c. A great number on the taxation of the colonies ; Mr. Pitt's acceptance of a peerage in 1766 ; the measures of his administration ; dearth of provisions ; letters of Tranquillus ; the supposed correspondence with Buckhorfe ; and above one hundred others, on a great variety of important subjects.

The merit and importance which the news-papers have, of late years, acquired from the liberal communications of gentlemen of the first rank, both in politics and literature, have excited an universal regret, at seeing the valuable productions of such writers doomed indiscriminately to oblivion with the fugitive pieces of the day. It was the want of a proper publication, wherein to distinguish the writings of such authors, that suggested the idea of this collection, the intention of which is to preserve and transmit to posterity, such sensible and well written papers as appeared during the years 1760, 1761, 1762, 1763, 1764, 1765, 1766, and 1767, on both sides of every question which arose from the circumstances of the times, the necessities of the state, or the humours of the age.

Printed for J. ALMON, opposite Burlington-House in Piccadilly.

††† The letters of ATTICUS, LUCIUS, and JUNIUS, (contained in this pamphlet) may be considered as a very proper APPENDIX to this collection.

A COLLECTION of
INTERESTING PAPERS.

Being an APPENDIX, &c.

LETTER I.

*From ATTICUS, on the Situation of public
Affairs.*

August, 1768.

THE greatest part of my property having been invested in the funds, I could not help paying some attention to rumours or events, by which my fortune might be affected: yet I never lay in wait to take advantage of a sudden fluctuation, much less would I make myself a bubble to bulls and bears, or a dupe to the pernicious arts practised in the alley. I thought a prudent man, who had any thing to lose, and really meant to do the best for himself and his family, ought to consider of the state of things at large, of the prospect before him, and the probability of particular events. A letter which appeared some days ago in the public papers, revived many serious reflections of this sort in my mind, because it seemed to be written with candour and judgment.

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The effect of those reflections was, that I did not hesitate to alter the situation of my property. I owe my thanks to that writer, that I am safely *landed* from a troubled ocean of fear and anxiety, on which I think I never will venture my fortune and my happiness again. Perhaps it may not be useless to individuals, to see the motives on which I have acted.

In the first place, I consider this country as in a situation, the like of which it never experienced before, but which the greatest empires have experienced in their turn. The successes of the late war had placed us at the highest pinnacle of military glory. Every external circumstance seemed to contribute to our prosperity; the most formidable of our enemies were reduced, and commerce had promised to increase with the extent of our dominion. But at this point I fear we met with our *ne plus ultra*. The greatness of a kingdom cannot long be stationary. That of Great-Britain carried in itself an interior principle of weakness and decay. While the war continued, our superiority at sea gave us an exclusive commerce with the richest quarters of the world, and supplied us with wealth to support such efforts as no nation ever made before. But when the conclusion of peace had restored our rivals to the enjoyment of their former trade, the very efforts which had maintained the war, rendered it impossible for us to meet
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those rivals upon equal terms in foreign markets. The national debt had risen to a point so far beyond the reach of æconomical speculations, that the diminution of the principal almost ceased to be a question, and the ministry found difficulty enough in providing funds for payment of the interest. Here then we find an interior principle of decay, the operation of which is not less certain than fatal. The increase of your debt requires a proportionate increase of trade, at the same time that it not only prevents that increase, but operates in the contrary direction. A news-paper will not admit of such a deduction, or I would undertake to demonstrate, that all the profitable part of our foreign trade is lost, and that, in what remains, the balance is considerably against us. But the fact is notorious. The situation of our East-India Trade is so far altered for the better, that we do not send such quantities of bullion as heretofore to China, and indeed we have it not to send. Yet the resources of this trade are, at the best but precarious : nor is the balance of it even now clearly in our favour. A single defeat in India (an event not quite out of the limits of possibility) would go near to annihilate the company. But it was in the colonies that our best and surest hopes were founded. Their extensive commerce would have supported our home manufactures, when other markets failed, and rewarded us

in some measure for that security and extent of dominion, which the blood and treasure of this country had purchased for them. Here too our most reasonable expectations are disappointed. Not only the merchant who gives credit on the security of personal good faith, is ruined by it, but, in a public view, the sum of the debts of individuals is held out *in terrorem* to awe us into a compliance with pretensions, which shake the foundation of our political existence. We shall be woefully deceived if we form our calculations of the real state of trade, on the large commissions, long credit, or extensive enterprizes of particular merchants. The commercial prosperity of a nation depends upon the certainty of the return, not on the magnitude of the venture. As things are now managed in the city, the greatest house falls first, and draws with it the ruin of a multitude of little ones. Next to the parties immediately concerned, the public creditors will be the first to feel the consequences of this ruinous system. The funds allotted for their security, depend chiefly upon the produce of the customs; these depend upon your trade, and it requires no prophet to foretell, that a false and ruinous system of trade cannot long be maintained. It begins with private beggary, and ends in public ruin. I do not pretend to say that the land-holder will be quite at his ease, when public credit is shaken. But his at least is a solid security;
the

the other a mere bubble, which the first rude breath of ill-fortune or of danger may reduce to nothing.

I wish it could be proved, that any one circumstance in this representation is false or exaggerated. On the other hand, if it be true, the concealment, of a moment more or less, signifies nothing. It is agreed on all hands, that we are in no condition to meet a war. Our enemies know and presume upon it. The experience of many centuries sufficiently proves, that their natural restlessness will not long permit them to observe the conditions of any peace. At present they have other additional motives to draw them into action. The articles of the last peace dishonoured them in the eyes of Europe. Necessity alone compelled them to submit to it. As long as the necessity subsists, the peace will be maintained. In the mean time, they hazard such strokes as would be a just foundation of a war, if we had strength or spirit to renew it. Dunkirk remains undemolished, and Corsica is added to the dominion of France. They know the miserable state of our finances, the distraction and weakness of our government, and above all, the alarming differences which threaten a rupture with our colonies. To suppose that they will not take advantage of these circumstances, is supposing that a few years have changed the stamina of a French constitution. On the other hand, to say that they

they are as little in a condition to make war as ourselves is meer trifling. Their enterprises prove the contrary. Their finances are upon a much better footing than ours, and at the worst, they have a remedy, which a British parliament will never make use of, but in the last extremity. The French apply it without scruple, and, as far as I can observe without any bad effect to themselves. In short, they consider our weakness more than their own strength, in adherence to their old policy, *que la foiblesse de l'ennemi fait notre propre force.*

A prudent man, whose property is in the funds, would do well to consider the truth of this representation. What security has he, when the slightest rumour of bad news from America robs him of four or five per cent. upon his capital, when worse news from that quarter is expected every hour, and when the expectation of a foreign war is founded on facts and reasoning, strong enough to constitute the clearest moral certainty? To say that public credit has hitherto passed safely through the fiery trial of war and rebellion, proves nothing. No conclusion can be drawn from a debt of forty-six millions, at which it stood in 1740, to the present debt of one hundred and forty millions. At that time our resources were hardly known, now they are known and exhausted. We are arrived at that point when new taxes either produce nothing, or defeat
the

the old ones, and when new duties only operate as a prohibition : yet these are the times when every ignorant boy thinks himself fit to be a minister. Instead of attendance to objects of national importance, our worthy governors are contented to divide their time between private pleasures and ministerial intrigues. Their activity is just equal to the persecution of a prisoner in the king's-bench, and to the honourable struggle of providing for their dependants. If there be a good man in the king's service they dismiss him of course ; and when bad news arrives, instead of uniting to consider of a remedy, their time is spent in accusing and reviling one another. Thus the debate concludes in some half misbegotten measure, which is left to execute itself. Away they go : —one retires to his country-house ; another is engaged at a horse-race ; a third has an appointment with a prostitute ; —and as to their country, they leave her, like a cast off mistress, to perish under the diseases they have given her.

ATTICUS.

LETTER II.

From the Same.

October, 1768.

SINCE my last was printed, a question has been stated in the news-papers, which I think is incumbent upon me, as an honest

honest man, to answer. Admitting my representation of the melancholy state of this country, and of public credit to be strictly true, " what good purpose can it answer to discover such truths, and to lay our weakness open to the world ?" One would think such a question hardly wanted a reply. If a real misfortune were lessened by concealment ;—if, by shutting our eyes to our weakness, we could give our enemies an opinion of our strength, none but a traitor would withdraw the veil, which covered the nakedness of his country. But if the contrary be true ; if concealment serves only to nourish and increase the mischief, its conclusion is direct. A good subject will endeavour to rouse the attention of his country ;—he will give the alarm, and point out the danger, against which she ought to provide. The policy of concealment is no better than the wisdom of a prodigal, who wastes his estate without reflection, and has not courage enough to examine his accounts.

In my last letter, I foretold the great fall of the stocks, which has since happened, and I now do not scruple to foretell that they must and will fall much lower. Yet I am not moved by the arts of stock-jobbers, or by temporary rumours, magnified, if not created, for particular purposes in the alley. These artifices are directed to maintain a fluctuation not a continued fall. The principles, on which *my* reasoning is founded are
taken

taken generally from the state of France and this country. When I see our natural enemies strong enough not only to elude a material article of treaty, but to set us at defiance while they conquer a kingdom; and when I combine this appearance of strength with their natural restlessness, I cannot but doubt of their taking the first opportunity to recover their lost honour, by a fresh declaration of war. On the other hand, considering the hostile temper of the colonies towards us, the oppressive weight of a monstrous debt (to which a peace of six years has scarce given a sensible relief) and, above all, the misery, weakness, and distraction of our interior government, I cannot have a doubt that our enemies now have, or in a very little time will have the fairest opportunity they can wish for to force us into a war. The conclusion, to be drawn from these premises, is obvious. It amounts to a moral certainty, and leaves no room for hope or apprehension.

To these, which are the most important circumstances of our situation, may well be added the high price of labour, the decay of trade, and the ruinous system on which it is conducted. Every minuter article conspires against us. The deficiency of the civil list must be paid, and cannot be paid with less than seven hundred thousand pounds. The India company will yield to no terms, which are not founded on an express acknowledge-

ment of their exclusive property in their conquests in Asia. How far their pretensions are just is at least a doubtful question. Whether parliament will divest them of this property, by a mere declaratory law, is a matter of the most important consideration. It would be a dreadful precedent, because it would shake every security of private property. Yet, even if that were determined, another question remains full of difficulty and danger;—that is, in what manner the public will avail themselves of this great right, decided by nothing but a vote of parliament?

I am not affected by the rumours of the day. If the stocks rise or fall upon a report of tranquility or tumult in Boston, I am satisfied that it is owing to the arts and management of stock-jobbers. But I see the spirit which has gone abroad through the colonies, and I know what consequences that spirit *must and will* produce. If it be determined to enforce the authority of the legislature, the event will be uncertain: but if we yield to the pretensions of America, there is no further doubt about the matter. From that moment they become an independent people, they open their trade with the rest of the world, and England is undone.

In these circumstances, calamitous as they are, I yet think the uniform direction of a great and able minister might do much. His earliest care, I am persuaded, would be to provide

provide a fund to support the first alarm and expence of a rupture with France. If prepared to meet a war, he might perhaps avoid it. His next object would be to form a plan of agreement with the colonies. He would consent to yield some ground to the Americans, if it were possible to receive a security from them, that they never would advance beyond the line then drawn upon conditions, mutually agreed on. By an equitable offer of this kind, he would certainly unite this country in the support of his measures, and I am persuaded he would have the reasonable part of the Americans of his side.

These, Sir, unfortunately for us, are views too high and important even to be thought of, while we are governed as we are. I would not descend to a reproachful word against men, whose persons I hardly know : but it is impossible for an honest man to behold the circumstances, to which a weak distracted a———n has reduced us, without feeling one pang at least for the approaching ruin of Great Britain.

ATTICUS.

LETTER III. *From the Same.*

A Description of the Administration.

October, 1768.

WE are assured by the advocates of the ministry, that while lord Shelburne

is secretary of state, we can have no reason to apprehend a rupture with France or Spain. This proposition is singular enough, and I believe turns upon a refinement very distant from the simplicity of common sense. But, admitting it to be self-evident, the conclusion is such as I apprehend your correspondent, who signs himself *A friend to public credit*, did not clearly foresee. If Lord Shelburne's remaining in office constitutes a security of peace, his being suddenly removed must amount to a declaration of war. Now, the fact is, that his lordship's removal has been for some time in agitation, and is within these few days absolutely determined. If I were a party-writer, the indiscretion of the ministerial advocates would give me as many advantages as even the wretched conduct of the ministry themselves. But I write for the public, and in that view hold myself far above a little triumph over men, whose compositions are as weak as the cause they defend.

In my former letters I have given you a melancholy but a true representation of the state of this country. Every packet from America and the continent confirms it. The demonstration of facts follows the probability of argument, and the prediction of the present hour is the experience of the next. If you will now permit me to offer my opinion of the great persons, under whose administration we are reduced to this deplorable

ble state, the public will be enabled to judge whether these are the men most likely to relieve us from it. The curiosity of personal malice shall make no part of this enquiry. As public men we have a right to be acquainted with their real characters, because we are interested in their public conduct.

When the Duke of G——n first entered into office, it was the fashion of the times to suppose that young men might have wisdom without experience. They thought so themselves, and the most important affairs of this country were committed to the first trial of their abilities. His grace had honourably fléht his maiden sword in the field of opposition, and had gone through all the discipline of the minority with credit. He dined at Wildman's, railed at favourites, looked up to lord Chatham with astonishment, and was the declared advocate of Mr. Wilkes. It afterwards pleased his grace to enter into administration with his friend lord Rockingham, and, in a very little time, it pleased his Grace to abandon him. He then accepted of the treasury upon terms which lord Temple had disdained. For a short time his submission to lord Chatham was unlimited. He could not answer a private letter without lord Chatham's permission. I presume he was then learning his trade, for he soon set up for himself. Until he declared himself the minister, his character had been but little understood. From that moment a system
of

of conduct, directed by passion and caprice, not only reminds us that he is a young man, but a young man without solidity or judgment. One day he desponds and threatens to resign. The next, he finds his blood heated, and swears to his friend he is determined to go on. In his public measures we have seen no proof either of ability or consistence. The Stamp-act had been repealed (no matter how unwisely) under the preceeding administration. The colonies had reason to triumph, and were returning to their good humour. The point was decided, when this young man thought proper to revive it. Without either plan or necessity, he adopts the spirit of Mr. Grenville's measures, and renews the question of taxation in a form more odious and less effectual than that of the law, which had been repealed.

With respect to the invasion of Corsica, it will be matter of parliamentary enquiry, whether he has carried on a secret negotiation with the French court, in terms contradictory to the resolution of council, and to the instructions drawn up thereupon by his Majesty's secretary of state *. If it shall appear that he has quitted the line of his department to betray the honour and security of his country, and if there be a power suf-

* A motion which tended to an enquiry of this kind was made in the H — of C — ns by H — S —, Esq; but the *uninfluenced, unplaced unpenioned majority*, thought proper to put a *negative* upon it.

ficient to protect him, in such a case, against public justice, the constitution of Great-Britain is at an end.

His standing foremost in the persecution of Mr. Wilkes, if former declarations and connections be considered, is base and contemptible. The man, whom he now brands with treason and blasphemy, but a very few years ago was the duke of G——n's friend; nor is his identity altered, except by his misfortunes.—In the last instance of his grace's judgment and inconsistency, we see him, after trying and deserting every party, throw himself into the arms of a set of men, whose political principles he had always pretended to abhor. These men I doubt not will teach him the folly of his conduct better than I can. They grasp at every thing, and will soon push him from his seat. His private history would but little deserve our attention, if he had not voluntarily brought it into public notice. I will not call the amusements of a young man criminal, though I think they become his age better than his station. There is a period, at which the most unruly passions are gratified or exhausted, and which leaves the mind clear and undisturbed in its attention to business. His grace's gallantry would be offended, if we were to suppose him within many years of being thus qualified for public affairs. As for the rest, making every allowance for the frailty of human nature, I can make none
for

for a continued breach of public decorum ; nor can I believe that man very zealous for the interest of his country, who sets her opinion at defiance. This nobleman, however, has one claim to respect, since it has pleased our gracious s—n to make him prime minister of Great-Britain.

The Ch—r of the Ex—r is a moderate man, and pretends to no higher merit than that of an humble assistant in office. If he escapes censure, he is too prudent to aim at applause. The necessity of his affairs had separated him from earlier friendships and connections, and if he were of any consequence, we might lament that an honest man should find it necessary to disgrace himself in a post he is utterly unfit for. But we have other objects to attend to. It depends greatly upon the present management of the finances, whether this country shall stand or fall. A common clerk in office may conduct the ordinary supplies of the year, but to give a sensible relief to public credit, or to provide funds against a rupture abroad, are objects above him. To remove those oppressions, which lie heaviest upon trade, and, by the same operation, to improve the revenue, demands a superior capacity, supported by the most extensive knowledge. To vulgar minds it may appear unattainable, because vulgar minds make no distinction between the highly difficult and the impossible.

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The earl of H——h set out with a determined attachment to the court party, let who would be minister. He had one vice less than other courtiers, for he never even pretended to be a patriot. The Oxford election gave him an opportunity of shewing some skill in parliamentary management, while an uniform obsequious submission to his superiors introduced him into lucrative places, and crowned his ambition with a peerage. He is now what they call a K——'s man; ready, as the closet directs, to be any or nothing, but always glad to be employed. A new department, created on purpose for him, attracted a greater expectation than he has yet been able to support. In his first act of power he has betrayed a most miserable want of judgment. A provision for lord B——t was not an object of importance sufficient to justify a risque of the first impression, which a new minister must give of himself to the public. For my own part, I hold him in some measure excused; because I am persuaded the defence he has delivered privately to his friends is true, "That the measure came from another and higher quarter." But still he is the tool, and ceasing to be criminal, sinks into contempt. In his new department I am sorry to say he has shewn neither abilities nor good sense. His letters to the colonies, contain nothing but expressions equally loose and violent. The minds of the Americans are not to be concili-

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liated

liated by a language which only contradicts without attempting to persuade. His correspondence, upon the whole, is so defective both in design and composition, that he would deserve our pity, if the consequences to be dreaded from it did not excite our indignation. This treatment of the colonies, added to his refusal to present a petition from one of them to the K—, (a direct breach of the declaration of rights) will naturally throw them all into a flame. I protest, Sir, I am astonished at the infatuation which seems to have directed his whole conduct. The other ministers were ^{proceeding} ~~proceeding~~ in their usual course, without ^{foreseeing} ~~foreseeing~~ or regarding consequences; but this nobleman seems to have marked out, by a determined choice, the means to precipitate our destruction.

The earl of Sh---e had initiated himself in business, by carrying messages between the earl of Bute and Mr. Fox, and was for some time a favourite with both. Before he was an ensign he thought himself fit for a general, and to be a leading minister before he ever saw a public office. The life of this young man is a satyr on mankind. The treachery, which deserts a friend, might be a virtue, compared to the fawning baseness which attached itself to a declared enemy. Lord Chatham became his idol, introduced him into the most difficult department of the state, and left him there to shift for himself. It was a master-piece of revenge. Unconnected,

connected, unsupported, he remains in office without interest or dignity, as if the income were an equivalent for all loss of reputation. Without spirit or judgment to take an advantageous moment of retiring, he submits to be insulted, as long as he is paid for it. But even this abject conduct will avail him nothing. Like his great archetype, the vapour on which he rose deserts him, and now,

“Fluttering his pennons vain, plumb down he drops.”

I cannot observe without reluctance, that the only man of real abilities in the present administration, is not an object either of respect or esteem. The character of the lord Ch——r is a strong proof that an able, consistent, judicious conduct, depends upon other qualities than those of the head. Passions and party, in his lordship's understanding, had united all the extremes. They gave him to the world in one moment, the patron of natural liberty, independent of civil constitutions; in the next the assertor of prerogative independent of law. How he will advise the Cr——n in the present crisis, is of more importance to the public than to himself. His patronage of Mr. Wilkes, and of America, have succeeded to his wish. They have given him a peerage, a pension, and the seals; and, as for his future opinions, he can adopt none for which he may not find

a precedent and justification in his former conduct.

Of The earl of C—m—— I had much to say, but it were inhuman to persecute, when providence has marked out the example to mankind ! *

My

* On the 15th of October, 1768, which was a very few days after the publication of this letter, the earl of Ch—m resigned his post of lord privy seal. Having found in a variety of late instances, that his advice was disregarded, and his influence in the state at an end, he chose to resign. — The principle now adapted and pursuing with respect to America, is said to have been one cause of his resignation. And, amongst many others, the following are added, the plan now forming by the united houses of Bourbon and Austria, to destroy the peace and liberty of Europe, being looked upon with indifference, and treated as an idle chimera by those who call themselves ministers. The high language lately held by the British minister at Paris upon the invasion of Corsica by the French, and the strong contradiction by authority given to it here. The memorial of a southern potentate, once the natural and firm ally of Great Britain, (but now necessitated to bow with humiliation to France and Austria for security, and submitting to take an annual stipend from France, as an equivalent for a territory, secured to him by treaty, the great object of his wishes, and the recompence for his services and sufferings in the common cause) representing the danger to Great Britain, as well as to himself in *the suffering France to acquire the empire of the mediterranean*, these are his words. The family compact beginning to operate in its utmost, and most dangerous extent ; and not one effort made by Great-Britain to check its progress. Mr. Lynch appointed minister to the court of Turin, contrary to the resigner's recommendation, which was in favour of the earl of Tankerville. A general officer of unspotted character and unsullied honour driven from the service of his country,
and

My lord Gr——y is certainly a brave man and a generous man, and both without design or reflection. How far the army is improved under his direction, is another question. His German friends will all have regiments; and it is enough to say of his lordship, that he has too much good humour to contradict the reigning minister.

The length of this letter will not permit me to do particular justice to the duke of B——d's friends; neither is it necessary.

With

and banished into obscurity, lest his abilities, or his bravery, should contribute to prevent the approaching distress. Public business has for some time been at a stand; or what is worse, it has been executed only by clerks. Men of profligate character, whose fortunes have been dissipated in scenes of lewdness and debauchery, placed in the great offices of honour, trust and emolument, with no other view but to aggrandize themselves at the expence of the public; and who knowing that their own date in office cannot be longer than while the shadow of peace is preserved, are daily disgracing and debilitating the state by the most infamous practices. Corruption at a height the most alarming and enormous, and practised in the most open and daring manner, to the danger both of the public liberty, and of the property of every individual in the kingdom. And to crown all, beyond their incomes, they are known to have accepted of an annual 500 l. out of the minister's private pocket book, under the denomination of secret service as the reward for betraying their country, or rather, as it were, to plunge the fatal dagger into the vitals of her existence; the arch fiend of corruption is now performing the part of *locum tenens* to the absent favourite; a wretch, who upon his legs in a certain assembly had once the hardiness to defend the principle and the practice of corruption, and to add that the public business could not be carried

With one united view they have but one character. My lord G—r and lord W—h were distressed, and R—y was insatiable. The school

carried on without it. * Is it not alarming to see such a man again trusted, and consulted: and is it not the highest impeachment of the public justice that his former conduct is suffered to sleep without enquiry? At the death of the late king he was said to be worth at least a million sterling; and how much more hath he amassed by the peace and other jobs since?

October 21. In consequence of lord Chatham's resignation the earl of Shelburne resigned the seals of his office (secretary of state for the southern department) into his majesty's hand in the closet of St. James's.

October 22. The earl of Rochford, who had been sent for from France, was made secretary of state. Lord Weymouth was removed to lord Shelburne's office, and

* One of the Favourite's own advocates speaks thus of the union between them. "Of all the indiscretions which are to be imputed to his lordship, that of leaguering with a hardy veteran, long hackney'd in the ways of corruption, was the most fatal and the most inexcusable. By this imprudent association, he, in some measure, put it out of his power to do the good he meditated. He might have been sensible, that such a colleague, would gain him no confidence with the public; that the interest created by his well known mode of influence was not only incompatible with his lordship's avowed intentions, but that in the hour of need, it would desert him, as it had abandoned his predecessor. If he had not intended to remedy the abuses of former administrations, he should not have accepted the high office he filled: As he proposed to redress them, nothing could be more preposterous than to unite with the very man, who principally contributed to extend, and dared openly to avow, that corrupt system, which his lordship professed to reform."

lord

school they were bred in taught them how to abandon their friends, without deserting their principles. There is a littleness even in their ambition ; for money is their first object. Their professed opinions upon some great points are so different from those of the party with which they are now united, that the council chamber is become a scene of open hostilities. While the fate of Great-Britain is at stake, these worthy counsellors dispute without decency, advise without sincerity, resolve without decision, and leave the measure to be executed by the man who voted against it. This, I conceive, is the last disorder of the state. The consultation meets but to disagree. Opposite medicines are prescribed, and the last fixed on is changed by the hand that gives it.

Such is the council, by which the best of f—ns is advised, and the greatest nation upon earth governed. Separately the figures are only offensive ; in a group they are formidable. Commerce languishes, manufactures are oppressed, and public credit already feels her approaching dissolution : yet, under the direction of this council, we are to prepare

lord Rochford succeeded lord Weymouth in the northern department.

About the latter of the month the earl of Bristol was appointed lord privy seal. It was at first pretended by the friends of administration, that this appointment was by the advice of the earl of Chatham ; but upon enquiry, it proved to be an absolute falsity.

pare for a dreadful contest with the colonies, and a war with the whole house of Bourbon. I am not surpris'd that the generality of men should endeavour to shut their eyes to this melancholy prospect. Yet I am filled with grief and indignation, when I behold a wise and gallant people lost in a stupidity, which does not feel, because it will not look forward. The voice of one man will hardly be heard when the voice of truth and reason are neglected; but as far as mine extends, the authors of our ruin shall be marked out to the public, I will not tamely submit to be sacrificed, nor shall this country perish without warning.

ATTICUS.

L E T T E R IV. *From the Same.*

His Conclusion.

Nov. 1768.

W H E N I foretold the approach of a foreign war, the certainty of a rupture with the colonies, and the decline of public credit, my opinion was chiefly founded on the character, circumstances, and abilities of the present administration. Fortune has but little share in the events most interesting to mankind. Individuals perish by their own imprudence, and the ruin of an empire is no more than the misconduct of a minister or a king. Without the credit of personal reputation, divided as a ministry, and unsupported by talents or experience, his m——y's servants had left the field of national

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tional calamity wide open to prediction. It seems they were determined to accomplish more than even their enemies had foretold. For my own part, I am not personally their enemy, and I could have wished that their conduct had not made the name of friend to the ministry irreconcilable with that of friend to Great Britain.

The most contemptible character in private life, and the most ruinous to private fortunes, is, that, which possesses neither judgment nor inclination to do right, nor resolution enough to be consistent in doing wrong. Such a man loses all the credit of firmness, and uniformity, and suffers the whole reproach of weak or malicious intentions. In politics, there is no other ministerial character so pernicious to the honour of a prince, or so fatal to the welfare of a nation. It is of the highest importance to enquire, whether the present ministry deserve it.

The name of lord Ch——m's administration was soon lost in that of the duke of G——n. His grace took the lead, and made himself answerable for the measures of a council, at which he was supposed to preside. He had gone as far as any man in support of Mr. Pitt's doctrine, *That parliament had no right to lay a tax upon America, for the sole purpose of raising a revenue.* It was a doctrine on which lord Ch——m, and the Ch——r formed their administration, and his grace had concurred in it *with all his sincerity.*

E

Yet

Yet the first act of his own administration was to impose that tax upon America, which has since thrown the whole continent into a flame. A wise man would have let the question drop; a good man would have felt and adhered to the principles he professed. While the gentle C—y breathed into his ear, he was all lenity and moderation. The colonies were dutiful children, and Great Britain a severe parent. A combination to ruin this country was no more than an amicable agreement, and rebellion was a natural right confirmed by the revolution. But now it seems his grace's opinions are altered with his connections. *The measures of the colonies are subversive of the constitution; they manifest a disposition to throw off their dependance, and vigorous measures must be enforced at the point of the sword.* In vain may we look for the temper and firmness of a great minister;—we shall find nothing but the passion or weakness of a boy;—the enervated languor of a consumption, or the false strength of a delirium.

The same inconsistency will be found to prevail through every measure and operation of government. Perhaps there may be discovered something more than supineness in the first neglect of Corsica, and something worse than inconsistency in the contradiction given to lord Rochford's spirited declaration to the court of France. His grace has lately adopted the opposite extreme, and scruples

ples not to give an alarming shock to public credit, by hints little short of a declaration of war. What is this but the undetermined timidity of a coward, who trembles on the brink, until he plunges headlong into the stream?

In one gazette we see Sir Jeffery Amherst dismissed; in the very next, we see him restored, and both without reason or decency. The peerage, which had been absolutely refused, is granted, and as in the first instance the r—y—l faith was violated, in the second the r—y—l dignity is betrayed. But this perhaps is a compliment to the duke's new friendship with the earl of H——h.

Without approving of Mr. Wilke's conduct, I lament his fate. The duke of G——n, who contributed to his support abroad, has given the mandate for his expulsion. But I trust there is yet a spirit, which will not obey such mandates. This honourable enterprize will probably be defeated, and leave the author of it nothing but a distinguished excess of infamy, the last consolation of a profligate mind.

Is it possible, sir, that such a ministry can long remain united, or support themselves if they were united? The duke of G——n, it is true, has no scruple nor delicacy in the choice of his measures. They are the measures of the day, and vary as often as the weather. But his companions had each their separate plan, to which, for the credit of

government, and the benefit of this country, they have severally adhered. The intrepid thoughtless spirit of the C——r in Ch—— looks no farther than to the disposal of commissions. He is the friend and patron of the military. With this character he suffers the army to be robbed of a regiment, by way of pension to the noble disinterested house of P——y; and Sir Jeffrey Amherst to be sacrificed without pretending to the credit of restoring him. His lordship's conduct perplexes me. I am at a loss which to admire most; the penetrating sagacity, with which he understands the rights of the army, or the firmness with which he defends them.

When an ungracious act was to be done, the earl of H——h was chosen for the instrument of it. He deserved, since he submitted to bear, the whole reproach of Sir Jeffery Amherst's dismissal. The gallant knight obtains his price, and the noble earl, with whatever appetite, must meet him, with a smile of congratulation, and *dear Sir Jeffery, I most cordially wish you joy!* After all, it must be confessed, there are some mortifications which might touch even the callous spirit of a courtier.

The chancellor of the ex——r has many deficiencies to make good besides those of land and malt; and to say the truth, he has a gallant way of doing it. He gallops bravely through thick and thin, as the court directs, and I dare say would defend even an honest

honest cause with as much zeal and eloquence, as if he were ordered to shew his parts upon *nullum tempus*, or a Cumberland election.

It would be unjust to the duke of B—'s friends to attribute their conduct to any but the motives which they themselves profess. Mr. R—y is so modest a man, that the imputation of public virtue, or private good faith, would offend his delicacy, if he did not feel, as he certainly does, the genuine emotions of patriotism and friendship warm in his breast. They argued not ill for ambition, while they asked for nothing but profit; and when the duke of G——n has exhausted the treasury, he will find that every other power departs with the power of giving.

In this and my former letters I have presented to you, with plainness and sincerity, the melancholy condition, to which we are reduced. The characters of a weak and worthless ministry would hardly deserve the attention of history, but that they are fatally united, and must be recorded with the misfortunes of their country.

If there be yet a spark of virtue left among us, this great nation shall not be sacrificed to the fluctuating interests, or wayward passions of a minister, nor even to the caprices
***** If there be no virtue left, it is no matter who are ministers, nor how soon they accomplish our destruction.

ATTICUS.

The

The next series of remarkable papers which we shall select, is on the subject of dismissing Sir Jeffery Amhurst from his government of Virginia, &c. in August, 1768, which is rendered memorable by the spirited and elegant pen of Lucius.—But before we enter upon the letters, it will not be amiss to give the two accounts of the transaction itself, which these letters elucidate.

The Administration Account.

SINCE the death of lieutenant governor Fauquier, the assembly of Virginia has presented to the president of the council to be transmitted to England, two papers, the one a petition to the king, and the other a *remonstrance* to the parliament, in which they as good as tell the latter, not to trouble their heads about them, for they shall for the future take care of themselves. When these very extraordinary papers were received by the secretary of state, he laid them before the other servants of the c—n, who all agreed, it was highly expedient, that the governor in chief of that province should reside there. This resolution was approved of by the k—, and his m—y gave directions to the s—y of s—e to signify it to Sir Jeffery Amhurst; but at the same time not to press him to go if it was disagreeable to him, but to acquaint him, that the k— would make up to him the emoluments he received out of that government in another way.

way. L---d H--- accordingly called at general Amherst's house, but being told he was in the country, he wrote the following letter to him.

H— Square, 27th July, 1768.

S I R,

I AM commanded by the k— to acquaint you, that his M—, upon a consideration of the dispatches lately received from V—, thinks it necessary for his service, that his governor of that colony should immediately repair to his government; and at the same time, to express to you the high opinion his m— has of your ability to serve him in that situation. But it is not the k—'s intention to press you to go upon that service, unless it shall be perfectly agreeable to your inclination, as well as entirely convenient to you. His m— does not forget, that the government of V— was conferred upon you as a mark of royal favour, and as a reward for the very great services you have done for the public, so much to your own honour, and so much to the advantage of this kingdom, and therefore his m--- is very solicitous that you should not mistake his gracious intention on this occasion.

If you chuse to go immediately to your government, it will be extremely satisfactory to his m---; if you do not, his m--- wishes
to

to appoint a new governor, and to continue to you in some other shape, that emolument which was, as I have said before, intended as a mark of the royal sense of your meritorious services; it is a particular pleasure to me to have the honour of expressing to you these very favourable sentiments of our r---m---. To add any thing from myself, would be a degree of presumption; I will therefore only request the favour of your answer, as soon as may be convenient, and take the liberty to assure you, that I am,

H----

Sir Jeffery Amherst came to town, and waited on l--- h---, he expressed his disinclination to go to Virginia, and said, that having been commander in chief in America, he could not serve under general Gage, as governor of a single province. L--- H--- replied, that if that was his only objection, he thought it might easily be answered, for that a governor was always the superior person in his own province, and that his office, being a civil one, had no relation to the command of the king's troops. However, as his orders were not to press Sir Jeffery to go, and he found it was disagreeable to him, he had nothing to say, and therefore only begged to know what were the emoluments which he received out of that government, that he might acquaint the k—, and receive his commands for making out a grant for an annuity

annuity accordingly. The general said fifteen hundred guineas a year, but told his l---p, that by an annuity, he hoped he did not mean a pension. Yes, replied l---H---, I do mean a pension, and although a pension may carry with it a disagreeable idea, when it is given merely for the sake of a pension, yet when it is given as a reward for services done the public, it becomes a mark of public approbation, witness l---C---m's pension, which was given him as a reward for directing those services you so ably executed, witness too Sir E--- H--- his pension for saving Ireland, and why not yours for adding Canada to the British dominions. Besides, is not your present salary a pension out of the revenue of Virginia, and where can be the difference to you, whether you receive it out of the four and half per cent duty upon sugar, or the duty upon tobacco? but the difference will be material to the crown and the public, for that fund, which was given for the support of a governor, will be properly applied, and the crown and the people will have the advantage of the governor in chief of the province of Virginia residing in his government. The general replied, he should dislike a pension, but said he must submit to the k---'s pleasure, and bowed off. When l---H--- reported what had passed to the k---, his m---y was most graciously pleased to order a grant of fifteen hundred guineas a

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year

year free of all deductions, and for life, to be charged in the four and half per cent, for the use of Sir Jeffery Amherst, in consideration of his great services, but before the grant could be made out, Sir Jeffery signified his intention to resign his regiments.

The counter story is as follows :

IN consequence of the disagreeable advices lately received from Virginia, it was determined by the Scottish thane to send thither lord B. the last of his friends that remained unprovided for. But, to prevent this strong mark of his influence from being discovered by the public eye, a c——t c——l was held, in which it is said to have been resolved, that it was highly necessary the governor of Virginia should reside in his province. This resolution answered all purposes at once: it dismissed Sir J. A. and it appointed lord B; for Sir J. A. was the only person in England who could not go to America in that capacity. He had been commander in chief there; therefore, by the rules of the army, and consistent with his own character, he could not go to serve under general Gage (the present commander in chief there) who is an inferior officer, and who had served under Sir J. in America. When the c——l broke up, lord H. directly went to Sir J. A's to acquaint him with their resolution, but was informed Sir J.

was

was in the country: upon which lord H. returned, and wrote to him. But before the letter was delivered at Sir J's house in the country, he was set off for London; and finding that lord H. had been at his house, he went directly to his lordship's.

Lord H. after reciting some of the above particulars, said, That as he (Sir J. A.) was lately married, he possibly might not chuse to go to America. Though this seemed like suggesting to Sir J. a reason for refusing; yet the brave and worthy officer, whose amiable disposition, and gentleman-like deportment, did not suffer him to reply in a strain best adapted to the compliment, frankly and candidly answered, That, as general Gage (for whom he expressed a very great regard, and of whose abilities as an officer, he spoke in terms of the highest veneration) was commander in chief in America, he could not go to serve under that officer, who was not only inferior to him in his rank in the army, but had served under him in America. That if the affairs of this colony required his going to America, he hoped the matter respecting general Gage would be accommodated. Lord H. said, that could not be; general Gage must remain in his present situation: but added, that he should not press him (Sir J. A.) to go; and then offered him a pension of 1500*l.* per annum, as an equivalent for his government. Sir J. A. refused to accept the

offer, saying, the government of Virginia was given him expressly as a reward for services during the late war, and as a mark of the royal approbation of his conduct in America; that, when it was given him, it was considered as a sine-cure, without any requisition of residence, which was never thought of, or intended at the time; for that the business and whole government of the province were to be entirely managed by the lieutenant-governor. Yet, there is no doubt but he would have gone upon terms consistent with his honour, and his rank in the army.

They parted. And the next news that Sir J. A. received, was, that lord B. had kissed hands for his government of Virginia. Upon which Sir J. who received this account in the country, by a letter from his brother, came again to town, and finding it to be true, he resigned his two regiments, viz. the 15th, and the 60th, to his M—— at St. James's, on the 18th of August, 1768.

Short Observations on these Accounts.

FROM comparing these two accounts together, the truth seems to be, that the f—y of f—e did not wish general Amherst to go to America, nor expect that he would, otherwise he would surely have offered him the same command which he before had there, and in which station it was that

that he had rendered his country those services the minister pretended to be so sensible of. But his friend and brother *k—sman*, being a little embarrassed by his connections with the *W—y* company, and having been disappointed in getting a patent, by which he might have transferred the loss upon ignorant purchasers of shares, he thought, by giving Sir Jeffery a pension of 1500 guineas, to accommodate his friend with an income of near 4000, and a convenient absence from this country. He imagined the general would have readily made the exchange; having found his services so long slighted, and no attention paid him by any minister since his arrival in England: and now, that his former patron, the great duke of *C—d* was dead, and *l--- C—m* became incapable, he had nothing to expect.

To the Earl of H—h.

My Lord,

THE honourable lead you have taken in the affairs of America, hath drawn upon you the whole attention of the public. You declared yourself the single minister for that country, and it was very proper you should convince the world you were so, by marking your outset with a *Coup d'eclat*. The dismissal of Sir Jeffery Amherst has given a perfect establishment

blishment to your authority, and I presume you will not think it necessary or useful to hazard strokes of this sort hereafter. It will be adviseable at least to wait until this affair is forgotten, and if you continue in office till that happens, you will surely be long enough a minister to satisfy your ambition.

The world attributes to your lordship the entire honour of Sir Jeffery Amherst's dismissal, because there is no other person in the cabinet, who could be supposed to have a wish or motive to give such advice to the C—n. The duke of Grafton and the chancellor were once lord Chatham's friends. However their views may now be altered, they must know it would disgrace them in the eyes of the public, to offer an unprovoked outrage to a man, whose conduct and execution had contributed not a little to their patron's glory.

The duke of Bedford and his friends have uniformly held forth Sir Jeffery Amherst as the first military man in this country;—they have quoted him on all occasions, when military knowledge was in question, and even been lavish in his praise. Besides they openly disclaim any share in this measure, and they are believed.

The earl of Shelburne usually finds himself in opposition, therefore is not too often consulted, In this instance, he certainly did not concur with the majority. He still is or pretends to be attached to lord Chatham,
and

and I fancy he is not yet so cordially reconciled to the loss of the American department, as to dishonour himself merely to oblige your lordship.

You will not venture to insinuate that Sir Jeffery Amherst was admitted by the advice of lord Granby or Sir Edward Hawke. Military men have a sense of honour, which your lordship has no notion of. They feel for a gallant officer who had his full share in the toils and honour, and had some right to a share in the profits of the war. They feel for the army and the navy. Lord Granby himself has *some* emoluments besides his power, and Sir Edward Hawke has his pension. Nobly earned I confess, but not better deserved than by the labours, which conquered America in America. Besides, my lord, the commander in chief is the patron of the army. It was a common cause, which he could not desert without infamy and reproach. Lord Granby is not a man to take his tone from any minister. Where his honour is concerned, he scorns to adopt an humble ministerial language; he never would say---*that indeed Sir Jeffery Amherst was rather unreasonable---that his terms were exorbitant, that he had still two regiments left; and might well be contented:---* This is a language it is impossible he should hold, while he himself is master general of the ordnance, colonel of the blues, and commander in chief, with a whole family upon the staff. He
knows

knows the value, and could not but be sensible of the loss of those honourable rewards, which his distinguished capacity, his care of the public money, and his able conduct in Germany had justly entitled him to.

I think I have now named all the cabinet but the earl of Chatham. His infirmities have forced him into retirement, where I presume he is ready to suffer, with a sullen submission, every insult and disgrace that can be heaped upon a miserable, decrepid, worn out old man. But it is impossible he should be so far active in his own dishonour, as to advise the taking away an employment, given as a reward for the first military success, that distinguished his entrance into administration. He is indeed a compound of contradictions, but his letter to Sir Jef. Amherst stands upon record, and is not to be explained away. You know my lord, that Mr. Pitt therein assured Sir Jeffery Amherst, that the government of Virginia was given him merely as a reward, and solemnly pledged the royal faith that his residence should never be required. Lost as he is, he would not dare to contradict this letter. If he did, it would be something more than madness. The disorder must have quitted his head, and fixed itself in his heart.

The business is now reduced to a point, either your lordship advised this measure, or it happened by accident. You must suffer the whole reproach, for you are entitled to all

all the honour of it. What then is apparently the fact? one of your cringing, bowing, fawning, sword bearing brother courtiers * ruins himself by an enterprize, † which would have ruined thousands if it had succeeded. It becomes necessary to send him abroad. Sir Jeffery Amherst is one of the mildest and most moderate of men;—ergo, such a man will bear any thing. His government will be a handsome provision for B----t, and if he frets---why he may have a pension. Your emissaries lose their labour, when they talk with so much abhorrence of sinecures, non-residence, and the necessity of the k---'s service. You are conscious my lord, that these are pompous words without a shadow of meaning. The whole nation is convinced that the fact is such as I have stated it. But to make it a little plainer, I shall ask your lordship a few questions, to which the public will expect, and your reputation, if you have any regard for it, demands, that you should give an immediate and strict answer.

1. When the government of Virginia was offered to Sir Jeffery Amherst, did he not reply, that his military employment took up all his time, and that he could not accept of the government if residence were expected.

2. Did not Mr. Pitt, then secretary of state, assure him in the k---'s name, that it

* Lord B——t.

† The W——y Company.

*G

was

was meant only as a mark of his majesty's favour, and that the residence would never be expected.

3. Has there been any further mark of favour conferred upon this gentleman, for all those important services, which succeeded the conquest of Cape Breton.

But now for questions of a later date.

1. Was not lord Botetourt's appointment absolutely fixed on or before Sunday the 31st of July?

2. Had Sir Jeffery Amherst the least intimation of the measure before Thursday the 4th of August.

3. Was it not mentioned to him in general terms, as a measure merely in contemplation, without the most distant hint that lord Botetourt, or any other person was actually in possession of his government?

4. Did not lord Botetourt kiss hands the next day, that is on Friday the 5th of August?

5. Did you not dare to tell your f—n that Sir Jeffery Amherst was perfectly satisfied, when you knew your treatment of him was such as the vilest peasant could not have submitted to without resentment?

Finally, my lord, is it not a fact, that Sir Jeffery Amherst having been called upon some time ago to give his opinion upon a measure of the highest importance in America, gave it directly against a favourite scheme of your lordship; and is not this the real cause of
your

your antipathy against him? Your heart tells you that it is.

Now, my lord, you have voluntary embarked in a most odious, perhaps it may prove to you a most dangerous business. Your Pylades will sneak away to his government; but *you* must stand the brunt of it here. For the questions which I have proposed to you, I must tell you plainly, that they *must, and shall* be answered.

You may affect *to take no notice of them*, perhaps, and tell us *you treat them with the contempt they deserve*. Such an expedient may be wise and spirited enough when applied to a declaration of rebellion on the part of the colonies, and God knows it has succeeded admirably. But it shall not avail you here.

Num negare audes? Quid taces? Convincam si negas.

LUCIUS.

Answer.

I SHALL not pretend to enter into the merits of Sir J——y A——'s dismissal from his government of V——a. Every body knows he deserves a great deal of the public: And if what I have heard be true, even the present A——n do not refuse it him. But there are a number of busy incendiaries, who use every means to poison the minds of the good people of England, and to abuse those in power whoever they are.

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These

These neither inquire into the truth of the matter, nor do they fail to shew the most disagreeable view of every action in the ministry. An impudent varlet Y. Z. in this day's paper, talks of forty or fifty lives lost in St. George's fields. When was it? Others have heaped together a parcel of ill-natured lies, and given it the name of an account of the dismissal of Sir J---y A---t.

The particulars of Sir J---y A---'s dismissal, I am told are as follows: For very urgent reasons it had been determined the governor general of every province in America should reside. Upon which lord H--- wrote a letter to Sir J---y, acquainting him of this resolution. After making very honourable mention of his service in America, how much his country was obliged to him for that activity, steadiness and courage, which so eminently distinguished the commander, and which from his example diffused itself through the whole army, by which means the British arms were crowned with success, and the war so happily concluded in that part of the world; he mentioned the very high opinion his M---y had of him both as a man and a soldier, and how much it would be to his satisfaction, was it suitable to Sir J---y's inclinations and circumstances, to go to Virginia and take upon him the supreme command in that province: But if it was not convenient, he might depend on it, that his M---y would take the
earliest

earliest opportunity of doing justice to his merits, by making him a recompence equivalent at least to the loss of his government.

This letter was scarce finished when Sir J——y A——t called at lord H——h's on some other business. His lordship took that opportunity to explain the intentions of administration by such a measure, gave him the letter, and Sir J——y seemed to be convinced of the necessity of the arrangement, acquiesced in the proposals made to him, and went away to all appearance well satisfied.

If it was the first day or not, I know not, but Sir J——y very soon after this demanded an audience of his M——y, and resigned the command of his regiments.

This not being accepted of, and the ministry willing to keep such a man in the service, and not wishing to give cause for his resignation, endeavoured to reason with him; upon which he (Sir J——y A——t) delivered or sent to the D. of G——n the following articles of accommodation.

1. A british peerage to himself, and failing heirs of his body, to descend to his brother the colonel.

2. A recompence equivalent to the loss of his government.

3. An exclusive right of working the coal mines at Louisburg to him and his heirs for ever.

4. A grant of lands in America to a certain extent.

5. And

5. And in case it should be judged expedient to create American peers, that he should have the pre-eminence.

The D. of G---n on receiving this, begged to see Sir J---y. Who sent him word, if the interview was intended to induce him to lower his demands, it was totally unnecessary. His grace then went to him, and gave him the following answers.

1. British peerages were generally given to such, whose opulent fortunes enabled them to support that high dignity. This reason he apprehended Sir J---y could not plead.

2. It always had been his M----y's intentions to make him a recompence equivalent to his government.

3. Reasons political and commercial forbade the working of the American coal mines at all.

4. He might have the grant of lands in America, when, where, and to what extent he pleased ; but he did not apprehend there was the least reason to make the fifth demand, as he supposed a creation of American peers would never take place.

Sir J---y A----t's regiments are not given away.

I shall make no comment on this. I tell it as a fact, which I have heard from what people call good authority. The dismissal of an experienced and deserving commander requires some attention ; and there can be no harm in making the public acquainted with it.

it. The number of falshoods that have been spread abroad about this tranſaction have induced me to ſend you this.

I muſt tell you, however, that my information is ſecond hand; but it may have this good effect, even if not true, to induce thoſe who know the contrary to do as I have done. I ſhall therefore conclude with this queſtion: Are theſe things true or not?

CLEOPHAS.

To the Earl of H—h.

My Lord,

IN the ordinary courſe of life, a regularity of accounts, a preciſion in point of fact, and a punctual reference to dates, form a ſtrong preſumption of integrity. On the other hand, an apparent endeavour to perplex the order and ſimplicity of facts, to confound dates, and wander from the main queſtion, are ſhrewd ſigns of a rotten cauſe and of a guilty conſcience. Let the public determine between your lordſhip and me. You have forfeited all title to reſpect; but I ſhall treat you with tendereſs and mercy, as I would a criminal at the bar of juſtice.

In your letter ſigned Cleophas you are pleaſed to aſſume the character of a perſon half informed. We underſtand the uſe of this expedient. You avail yourſelf of every thing that can be ſaid for you by a third perſon, without being obliged to abide by the apology,

apology, if it should fail you. My lord, this is a paltry art, unworthy of your station, unworthy of every thing but the cause you have undertaken to defend. While you pursue these artifices, it is impossible to know on what principles you really rest your defence. But you may shift your ground as often as you please; you shall gain no advantage by it. Your lordship, under the character of Cleophas, is exactly acquainted with particulars, which could only be known to a few persons, while you totally forget a series of facts known to thousands. You can repeat every article of your own letter to Sir Jeffery Amherst, though your own memory be too weak to recollect on what day lord Botetourt's appointment was fixed, on what day he kissed hands, and on what day the design was opened to Sir Jeffery Amherst. These, it seems are circumstances of no importance, and to say the truth, I believe they are such as you would willingly forget. I am glad to find however, that the acknowledgements of Sir Jeffery Amherst's merit and services could not be more full and formal than as it is stated in your letter to him. Upon that point then we are agreed.

You say Sir Jeffery Amherst, at your first conversation, seemed satisfied. My lord, I must tell you, that when a secretary of state assures Sir Jeffery Amherst that any particular measure is necessary for the king's service, he is too good a subject to set his private interest

terest in opposition to the public welfare. But did you tell him that his government was given away four days before? Did you not speak of it as a measure *in futurum*, which was not to take place till he was perfectly satisfied? In short, did you tell him that lord Botetout was to kiss hands next morning? Answer these questions like a man, and a gentleman.

When Sir Jeffery Amherst found that all this pretended necessity of the k—'s service ended, in a provision for a ruined courtier, he felt the indignation of a man who has received an *affront*, not an *injury*. Your emissaries effect to say, that he was desired to repair to his government, and upon his refusal was dismissed. This you know was not the fact, so that every reasoning built upon it falls to the ground. You never did nor could propose to him, to return to America in a rank subordinate to general Gage: It never was a question; and indeed how should it, when his government was given away on the 31st of July, and he had not the most distant intimation that such a measure was thought of, until Thursday the 4th of August. Mark these dates, my Lord, for you shall not escape me.

After the affront had been fixed upon him in the grossest manner, he was desired to consider what satisfaction he would accept of. He then sent to the duke of Grafton the demands, which you have stated to the

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public. These, and the answers to them, shall now be considered. The word *demand* is peremptory and unfit to be made use of by a subject in a request to the crown. It *was not* made use of by Sir J. A. though, for the matter of it, I assert without scruple, that a man of distinguished public merit, who has been signally insulted, is not in the case of a suppliant, but has a *right* to a signal reparation.

The duke of G——n's idea of the proper object of a British peerage differs very materially from mine. His Grace in the true spirit of business, looks for nothing but an opulent fortune; meaning, I presume the fortune which can purchase, as well as maintain a title. We understand his grace, and know who dictated that article. He has declared the terms on which jews, gamblers, pedlars and contractors (if they have sense enough to take the hint) may rise without difficulty into British peers. There was a time indeed, though not within his Grace's memory, when titles were the reward of public virtue, and when the crown did not think its revenue ill employed in contributing to support the honours it had bestowed. It is true his Grace's family derive *their* wealth and greatness from a different origin;—from a system which, he it seems, is determined to revive. His confession is frank, and well becomes the candour of a young man, at least. I dare say, that if either his grace or
your

your lordship had had the command of a seven years war in America, you would have taken care that poverty, however honourable, should not have been an objection to your advancement;—you would not have stood in the predicament of Sir Jeffery Amherst, who is refused a title of honour because he did not create a fortune equal to it, at the expence of the public.

For the matter of a recompense equivalent to his government, he repeatedly told your lordship that the name of pension was grating to his ears; and that he would accept of no revenue that was not at the same time honorary. Your lordship does not know the difference, but men of honour feel it.

If reasons political and commercial forbid working the coal-mines in America, *that* I allow, is an answer *ad hominem*. It may be a true one; yet I do not despair of seeing these very mines hereafter granted to support the chastity of a minister's whore, the integrity of a pimp, or the uncorrupted blood of a bastard.

His grace is wonderfully bountiful in the article of lands, I doubt not he would, with all his heart, give Sir Jeffery Amherst the fee simple of every acre from the Mississippi to California. But we shall be the less surprized at his generosity, when we consider that every private soldier, who served a certain time in America, was entitled to two hundred acres, and that not one man, out

of perhaps twenty thousand claimants, has yet settled upon his estate.

As to American peerages, if none are to be created, the request falls of course. But if such a creation had been intended, I call upon your lordship to point out a man better entitled to precedence upon that list than Sir Jeffery Amherst.

Your last assertion is, that his regiments are not given away. It is a matter of perfect indifference. Yet the public has reason to believe that colonel Hotham is now col. of the 15th regiment, and that the commission of commandant of the Royal Americans, only waits until it shall be determined, whether general Gage shall be recalled or not.

Permit me now to refer your lordship to the question stated in my last letter, and to desire you to answer them strictly. If you do not, the public will draw its own conclusions.

Your emissaries, my Lord, have rather more zeal than discretion. One of them, who calls himself a considerate Englishman, could not write by authority, because he is entirely unacquainted with facts. His declamation therefore signifies nothing. In his assertions however, there is something really not unpleasant. He assures us that your lordship's great abilities were brought into employment to correct the blunders of Mr. Pitt's administration. It puts me in
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mind of the consulship which *Caligula* intended for his horse, and of a project, which *Buckhorfe* once entertained of obliging the learned world with a correct edition of the classics.

LUCIUS.

AS I have not the least intention to enter any dispute with Lucius, indulge me but this once, and give me leave to assure you, it shall be the last on the subject from me; and though this man writes so ungentlely, that he scarce deserves an answer, yet I could not help thinking this much necessary in justice to a nobleman, whom he has most shamefully attacked in consequence of my letter, but whose character is above the reach of malice, and who will be respected, when such pests of society are no more.

The account I sent you relative to the resignation of Sir J——y A——t I had heard publicly talked of at table, and in a coffee house; it was told as no secret; but was said to be from very good authority. I sent it as a piece of intelligence, without either adding or diminishing, I made no comment on it, as I intended no offence. Facts were stated as they were told, and as no dates were mentioned, I gave none, I left it to the public to form opinions as they pleased; to Sir J——y A——t's friends to contradict it, if they thought proper; and it has served as a bone for curs of opposition to snarl at.

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Though I do not mean to enter into any dispute with this fellow, yet I cannot help making a few observations on his letter. That the government of Virginia was given away four days before the intention of administration was mentioned to Sir J——y A——t, I have ground to believe it is not fact: good. And if you, Lucius, possessed but one grain of honesty, and if you had no other intention but to communicate useful information to the public, you would have told them so: That it was applied for even as soon as it was whispered that such a measure was to be adopted, upon the supposition that Sir J——y A——t would not chuse to reside I can believe: That it was promised to lord Botetourt in case he did not I can likewise believe; and this might have been four, or even fourteen days for ought I know before it was mentioned; but pray where is the harm in all this? I fancy no measure of government is entered into immediately on its being mentioned; it requires some time to digest. And when it was judged expedient, in consequence of the accounts from that province, to send the governor general to reside in Virginia, it was mentioned in the tenderest manner to Sir J——y. No affront was ever intended. Any recompence (if he did not chuse to go) in the power of administration, or in the gift of majesty, was offered to him. What more could he expect? He had it in his option to go or not; and if he did

did not go, he was promised an equivalent, perhaps more. As soon as this measure was furnished, was there any harm in lord Botetourt's application? was there any fault in lord H——h's promising his interest for his friend? But is this an absolute appointment? No. All the world knows applications are made long before vacancies happen, and preferments are promised; but every one, except Lucius, can make a distinction between a promise and absolute appointment. I dare say there were applications from more than one quarter before the late a——p died: and probably it was promised before the event happened: but if the see had not become vacant, the present a——p might have remained at Coventry.

But speak out malevolence, speak envy, disappointment and ill-nature. What in the name of goodness could be Sir Jeffery Amherst's objection to lord Botetourt? Was it because he is a nobleman? Because he has gone to the chapel at St. James's, and has carried the sword of state before his king? Because he never has insulted majesty, but has always behaved himself as a dutiful and loyal subject, and respectfully to his sovereign? Are these the weighty motives for objecting to his succession? Or is it still a greater crime to be poor? And do these make it an *affront* not an *injury*? Forbid it heaven! Forbid it Sir Jeffery Amherst's better genius! What would you have had Lucius? Would you have

have wished to have had the naming of Sir J——y's successor! What a pity you had not! I declare you deserved it! How could my lord H——h dare to recommend without your permission!

Demands, you say, are unfit to be used from subjects requesting of the crown. Indeed, Lucius, you are right; but many subjects now-a-days forget that they are so! and call them by what name you please, I acknowledge these articles of accommodation sent to the D. of G——n by Sir J——y A——t, or said to be sent, answer exactly to the ideas I have of *demands*, and pretty peremptory ones too.

It is strange, Lucius, that you cannot write one line without abuse. Had you made your remarks upon the D. of G——'s answer to the first article without abusing his grace, it would have been genteel; but the scurrilous language you use, even when your arguments are just, that proves you are equally acquainted with the gentleman, and sense of honour. I believe it is well known, that no commander in chief ever made less during a long war than Sir J——y A——t did: And I am very sorry indeed that want of fortune, the consequence of honesty and integrity, should ever be assigned as a reason to refuse honours to those who deserve them. The honours of this country, and its treasures to support them, have often been lavished on many who deserved them less than
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the conqueror of America. This I think was the only exceptionable answer from the D. of G——n. I hope it is not true.

Whatever delicate feelings you, Mr. Lucius, may have, I know not; but I am of opinion, that sinecure places, non-resident governments, and pensions are in fact the same, though different in names: Nay, the worst of the whole appears to me to be a non-resident governor. The very word implies a necessity of doing something: In fact he does nothing; he therefore is paid for what he does not, though it is his duty to do it. In short he is paid for neglect of duty; but because our language has not annexed the word pension to such neglect, it does not grate his ears. And, after all, what was Sir J. A——t but a pensioner on the colony of Virginia; He did nothing for it, and was paid. Our idea of a pension is a reward granted for past services, so was his — such as you Lucius, such tools of opposition, such state incendiaries, venal mercenary wretches are glad to receive rewards of your labours infinitely less honourable than either place or pension.

The D. of G——n's other answers were unexceptionable. As to the regiments being given away, I did not know it, therefore I am excusable.

And now, Mr. Lucius, I'll tell you a secret. Your supposing my letter to come from my L—d H—h, in my opinion did credit to the performance, and honour to

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me; but in justice to him I must declare, that I am not, know not, never saw, nor never spoke to the E. of H---h in my life--- but just, as formerly,

CLEOPHAS.

To the Earl of H---h.

My Lord,

IT is indifferent to the public, whether the letters signed Cleophas, are written by your lordship, or under your immediate direction. Whoever commits this humble begging language to paper, we know to a certainty the person by whom it is held. We know the suppliant stile your lordship has condescended to adopt at routes, at tea tables, and in banker's shops. But although you have changed your tone, I am bound in honour not to give you quarter. You have offended heinously against your country, and public justice demands an example for the welfare of mankind.

I foresaw Cleophas would soon be discovered. It seems the poor gentleman never saw, nor spoke to your lordship in his life, *but just as formerly*. The saying is a good one.

You say your character is above the reach of malice. True, my lord, you have fixed that reproach upon your character, to which malice can add nothing. You say it will be respected when such pests of society as I am, are no more. I agree with you that it is very little respected *at present*, and I believe I
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may unluckily have been the spoil of good company ; but I doubt whether *my* death, or even your own, will restore you to your good fame. Your peace of mind is gone for ever.

After the particulars quoted by Cleophas, it looks like trifling with the public, to confess that his accounts were collected in a coffee house, and that he will neither answer for facts nor be directed by dates. These are evasions which I scorn to imitate. My authority is indisputable ;---I have stated facts with precision, and marked the dates by which I shall invariably abide, yet Cleophas (alias your lordship,) says he has good ground *to believe* that the government was not given away four days before Sir J. A. was apprised of it ;---he *believes* indeed that it was previously applied for, and that lord Botetourt had a conditional promise of it. These, it seems are the articles of his creed ; but, as they are not points of religious faith, to which there might be some merit in sacrificing our understanding, I presume the public is not obliged to conform to them. My questions were put strictly to points of fact and time, and have not yet been answered. Places, I doubt not, are often applied for and promised before they are vacant ; but I did not expect to hear so indecent a case supposed and urged by a man in your lordship's station, as that the see of Canterbury was promised to

another, before the death of a late pious and truly reverend incumbent.

You say that government was ready to make Sir J. A. any recompence: yet, excepting a grant of land in a wilderness, every one of his requests were flatly denied.

You ask if there was any harm in this, or any fault in that.—What is this but crying *peccavi*, in the very language of misery and despair? It neither suits the spirit, which can do no wrong with firmness, nor that purity of innocence, which is conscious of having done right. If the necessity of sending over a governor to Virginia had really existed, and if your lordship had thought proper to take an early opportunity of stating that necessity to Sir J. A.---If you had previously apprised him of the design of giving him a successor, and if, in conformity to such declaration, a man of business, of judgment, or activity, had been fixed, you surely would not have paid too great an attention to Sir J. A. and you would have prevented every possible appearance of an intention to affront him. As to the pecuniary injury, I will venture to say, there is not a man breathing who would have been more easily satisfied in that respect than Sir J. A.—Compare this supposition with your real proceedings towards him, and though you cannot blush, I am sure you will be silent.

Your question in favour of lord Botetourt amounts to nothing. It is not that he is a bad man, or an undutiful subject. But he is a trifling

a trifling character and ruined in his fortunes. Poverty of itself is certainly not a crime. Yet the prodigality, which squanders a fair estate, is in the first instance dishonourable;—in the next it leads to every species of meanness and dependance, and, when it aims at a recovery at the expence of better men, becomes highly criminal. Will your lordship, can you, with a steady countenance, affirm that it was the *necessity* of the state, and not his own, which sent him to Virginia?

Your lordship may give what name you think proper to the requests proposed by Sir J. A. He was desired to specify them to the duke of Grafton, and they were refused. It is true, he did not confine himself to the idea of a bare equivalent for the pecuniary value of his government. A generous mind, offended by an insult equally signal and unprovoked, looks back to services long neglected, and with justice unites the claim arising from those services to the insult, which of *right* demands a signal reparation.

As you seem, in the duke of Grafton's answer to the first article, to feel and acknowledge your weakness, I shall not press you further upon it.

The pensions given by the crown have been so scandalously prostituted, that a man of any nicety might well be forgiven, if he wished not to have the title of pensioner added to his name. But I shall not descend to a dispute about words. I speak to things. If, instead of the government of Virginia, his late Majesty,

jeſty, on the ſurrender of Louiſburgh, had thought proper to give Sir J. A. a penſion, and if this had been the declared motive of giving it, he might have accepted it without ſcruple, and held it with honour. Inſtances of penſions ſo beſtowed are not very frequent. Sir Edward Hawke's is one. How widely different is the caſe in queſtion? I will not pretend to do juſtice to this good man's delicacy and ſenſe of honour; but I can eaſily conceive how a man of common ſpirit muſt be affected, when a place which he poſſeſſed on the moſt honourable terms, is taken from him, without even the decency due to a gentleman;—when he ſees it given to a needy court dependant, and when the only reparation offered him, is to enroll him in the liſt of penſioners, among whom an honeſt man would bluſh to ſee his name. If you had not been in ſuch haſte to correct the blunders of Mr. Pitt's adminiſtration, I think your inſignificant friend might have appeared in that liſt without any diſgrace to himſelf, and his diſtreſſes might have done credit to the humanity of your lordſhip's recommendation.

You did not know the 15th regiment was given to col. Hotham.—Yet your aſſertion was direct. For ſhame, my lord, have done with theſe evaſions. Poor P—n—I hangs his head in perfect modeſty, and even your *fidus Achates*, your unfortunate B—ng—n diſowns you.

I ſhall conclude with hinting to you (in a way which you alone will underſtand) that there
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is a part of my behaviour, for which you owe me some acknowledgment. I know the ostensible defence given to the public differs widely from the real one intrusted privately to your friends. You are sensible that the most distant insinuation of what that defence is would ruin you at once. But I am a man of honour, and will neither take advantage of your imprudency, nor of the difficulty of your situation.

LUCIUS.

Plerisque moris est, prolato rerum ordine, in aliquem lætum atque plausibilem locum quam maxime possint abiliter excurrere.

QUINTILIAN.

To the Earl of H——h.

My Lord,

YOUR change of title makes no alteration in the merits of your cause. You argued as well, and were full as honest a man, under the character of Cleophas as you are under that of Scrutator. The task of following falsehood through a lybrinth of nonsense is, I confess, much heavier than I expected. You have a way with you, my lord, that blunts the edge of attention, and sets all argument at defiance. But I hold myself engaged to the public, whose cause is united to that of Sir Jeffery Amherst. The people of this country feel as they ought to do the treatment of a man who has served them well; the time may come, my lord,
when

when you in your turn may feel the effect of their resentment.

You set out with asserting, that the crown has an indisputable power of dismissing its officers without assigning a cause.—Not quite indisputable, my lord; for I have heard of addresses from parliament, to know who advised the dismissal of particular officers. I have heard of impeachments attending the wanton exertion of the prerogative, and you perhaps may live to hear of them likewise.

Another assertion of the same sort has been thrown out by your emissaries, and now gravely maintained by your lordship, — viz. that the promise conveyed to Sir J. A. by Mr. Pitt, was in itself an absurdity, and that no succeeding minister is bound to make good an engagement entered into by his predecessor in office. I shall leave my lord privy seal to explain to you the motives on which Mr. Pitt acted. The promise arose from his own motive, and, if he has not spirit enough to maintain it, he deserves the contempt with which you treat him. In the mean time, I shall presume that a lieutenant-governor was then thought as *efficient* an officer as a governor, and that this post was bestowed on Sir J. A. not as the salary of future duties, but as the reward of services already performed. In the second part of your assertion, you wilfully confound the general measures of government with the particular promise of a — made to an individual. Even ministers, my lord, might, without

without any injury to their characters, preserve the faith and integrity of their office. But whatever latitude they claim for themselves, the honour of a — ought to be sacred, even to his successor. The proposition that ministers are not bound by the engagements of their predecessors, if taken generally, is false. There is no breach of public faith, which may not be justified on such a principle. Treaties at this rate may be violated without national dishonour, and the most solemn assertions from the throne, contradicted without reserve. You forget that you are mixing the permanent dignity of the crown, with the fluctuating views and interests of its servants. Yet I shall now allow you more, my lord, than I believe you expect. I shall admit, without hesitation, that the promise made to Sir J. A. could not be so absolute, as not to be revokable in a case of urgent necessity. If such a case had been stated, and demonstrated to Sir J. A. he would not have staid to be solicited. He would either have gone himself, or cheerfully resigned his government to his majesty's disposal. The question turns then upon the degree of that necessity. Make it evident to the public, and I shall then only complain that you have done a right thing in a manner the most indecent and absurd. You will remember, my lord, how much the issue of this question depends upon lord Botsfourt's character, for the public will not easily be persuaded, that a conjuncture which

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did not rise above the level of lord Botetourt's abilities, could be difficult, urgent or important.

You say, the facts on which you reason, *are universally admitted.*—A *gratis dictum*, which I flatly deny. If, instead of wandering into wild declamations, you had found it convenient to solve my questions strictly, we should have joined issue upon our facts, and the point would long since have been determined. Permit me to refresh your memory with some of them once more.

1. Was not lord Botetourt absolutely appointed on the 31st of July?
2. Was it mentioned in any shape to Sir J. A. before the 4th of August?
3. Was it not then mentioned as a measure in contemplation only?
4. Did not lord Botetourt kiss hands next morning, that is Friday the 5th instant?
5. Did not Sir J. A.'s opinion in council defeat an American scheme, formed by lord B——n and you, and is not this the true cause of your rancour against him?

It is unworthy the character of a gentleman to endeavour to amuse the public with idle declamations, while such questions as these remain unanswered.

LUCIUS.

To the Earl of H——h.

My Lord,

THERE is no surer sign of a weak head, than a settled depravity of heart. A base action is a disorder of the mind, and
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next to the folly of doing it, is the folly that defends it. Had the letter signed *Lucius* never been answered, you would not have so shamefully betrayed the weakness of your cause, and your silence might have been interpreted into a consciousness of innocence. The question is now exhausted, for the public is convinced. How well or ill we have argued is of infinitely less importance than the integrity of facts. Yet even facts, tho' separately true, will prove nothing, if the order in which they happened, be confounded. Take it finally, my lord, and disprove it if you can. Lord Botetourt's appointment was fixed on or before Sunday. You called at Sir Jeffery Amherst's on the Wednesday following. He was not in town, but you saw him next day (*Thursday*). You then told him that such a measure was in contemplation; but far from naming his successor you did not tell him that his successor was appointed. Yet lord Botetourt kissed hands the next morning (*Friday*), and the first notice Sir J. A. received of his lordship's appointment was by an express sent to him that evening by his brother.

That you are a civil, polite person is true. Few men understand the little morals better, or observe the great ones less than your lordship. You can bow and smile in an honest man's face, while you pick his pocket. These are the virtues of a court, in which your education has not been neglected. In any other school you might have learned, that Simplicity and Integrity are worth them all. Sir Jeffery Amherst was fighting the battles of this country, while you, my lord, the darling child of prudence and urbanity, were practising the generous arts of a courtier, and securing an honourable interest in the antichamber of a favourite.

As a man of abilities for public business, your first experiment has been unfortunate. Your circular letter to the American governors, both for matter and composition, is a performance, which a school-boy ought to blush for. The importance and difficulty

of the occasion gave you a fair opportunity of shewing by what talents you were qualified for the station of a Minister. The assembly of Massachusetts bay, not contented with their own efforts to throw off their allegiance, solicit the other colonies to unite with them in measures of the same tendency and spirit. A resolution of this extraordinary nature demanded the whole attention of government, and yours in particular. Let us see how you have treated it. Instead of a clear precise instruction to each governor ;—Instead of separate instructions adapted to the temper, circumstances, and interests of the several provinces, wherein you might have shewn your political abilities as well as your knowledge of that country ; what have you done ? In a circular letter of twenty or thirty lines (conceived in the same terms to all the governors) you tell them.

“ That this measure is of a dangerous and factious tendency” *A most wonderful discovery.*

“ That it is calculated to inflame the minds of his majesty’s subjects” *What else do you think was meant by it ?*

“ An unwarrantable combination” *That’s the question with THEM, and why did you not prove it so ?*

“ That it excites an opposition to parliament” *What other design in the name of folly, could be proposed by it ?*

“ That it subverts the true principles of the constitution” *which they utterly deny ?*

What are these but the loose hackneyed terms of office, which make no impression, because they convey no argument, and hardly a determinate meaning. You have not suggested a single motive to any one of the colonies, why they should not unite with the assembly at Boston. This task you leave to the governors, and if they find it an easy one, so much the better. Your conclusion however is a master-piece. You desire the governors to prevail with their assemblies to take no notice of the requisition from Boston, *which will be treating it with*
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the contempt it deserves. What, my lord, do you seriously think, that a formal attempt to unite the whole continent of America in rebellion against this country deserves nothing but the silent indifference of contempt? Is this the language of business and attention? Your letter, my lord, does indeed deserve contempt, but the enterprizes of the colonies are of other importance. They call for other measures and other ministers, and be assured that, when parliament meets, unless you intend to govern without one, neither you nor your companions will be permitted to ruin this country with impunity.

LUCIUS.

P. S. A Friend of mine has taken the pains to collect a number of epithets, with which lord H. has been pleased to honour me in the course of our correspondence. I shall lay them before the public in one view, as a proof of his lordship's urbanity and singular condescension.

1. Wretched scribbler.
2. Worthless fellow.
3. Vile incendiary.
4. False liar, *in opposition to a true one.*
5. Snarler.
6. Contemptible thing.
7. Abandoned tool of opposition, and diabolical miscreant.
8. Impudent scurrilous wretch.
9. Rascal and scoundrel, *passim.*
10. Barking Cur; *by way of distinction from*
11. Barking animal; cum multis aliis.

To all which I shall only say, that his lordship's arguments are upon a level with his politeness.

P. S. I acknowledge a mistake the moment I perceive it. I have advanced the transaction between lord H. and Sir J. A. too forward by one compleat week. But the days of the week, the facts, and the order in which they succeeded one another, are the same. You see plainly that my arguments are not affected by this mistake. If they had, I should have acknowledged it without hesitation.

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To the Earl of H—h.

My Lord,

PERMIT me to have the honour of introducing you to a very amiable and valuable acquaintance. Mr.—is the gentleman I mean. Your lordship will forgive the timidity and bashfulness of his first address, and, considering your quality, condescend to make him some advances. There is a similarity in your circumstances, to say nothing of your virtues and understanding, which may lay the foundation of a solid friendship between you for the rest of your lives. Undoubtedly you are not quite unacquainted with a character, on which you appear to have formed your own. His case was singular, my lord, and cannot fail of exciting some emotions of sympathy in your lordship's breast. This worthy man found himself exposed to a most malicious persecution for perjury. A profligate jury found him guilty, and a cruel judge pronounced his sentence of imprisonment, pillory, and transportation. His mind was a good deal distressed in the course of this affair (for he too is a man of delicate feelings) but his character, like yours, was above the reach of malice. Not to keep your lordship any longer in pain, I have the pleasure of telling you that, when law and justice had done their worst, a lady, in whom he seldom places any confidence at cards, was generous enough to stand his friend. Fortune discovered a flaw in the indictment; and now, my lord, in spite of an iniquitous prosecution, in spite of conviction and sentence, he stands as fair in his reputation as ever he did. Your lordship will naturally be struck with the resemblance between your case and his. Facts were so particularly stated against you, that they could not be denied;—the order, in which they happened, was demonstrated, and sentence pronounced by the public. The affair was over, when up gets Tommy Ford,
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and discovers that the whole transaction passed in the last week of July instead of the first in August. This mistake, as it brought the object nearer to us, I called *advancing*. In your lordship's country I presume it may be properly called a retreat. Here however the comparison ends. Your friend escaped by a form of law. But you, my Lord, have been tried at a tribunal of honour and equity. The public, who are your judges, will not suffer *my* mistake (however it may prove the badness of my heart to acknowledge it) to quash the indictment against you. You are convicted of having done a base and foolish action, in a manner most despicable and absurd. Your punishment attends you in the contempt and detestation of mankind.

Your lordship has been pleased to publish a long letter in the Gazetteer, to prove that all Sir Jeffery Amherst's military services are a mere fiction. You did not sign it indeed, because you had lately signed another, containing the most express and authentic acknowledgment of those services, in a stile of applause, not very distant from flattery. You will not now it seems allow him any share in the reduction of Louisbourg, or the conquest of Canada. Perhaps after all he never was in America. I am not a foldier, my lord, nor will I pretend to determine, what share of honour a general is entitled to for success, who must have borne the whole blame and disgrace, if he had failed. Had the event been unfavourable, his officers, I dare say, would have been willing enough to yield *their* concern in it to their commander in chief. As to the rest, I have heard from military men, that the judgment and capacity, which make resistance useless or impracticable, is rated much higher than even the resolution which overcomes it. When you, my lord, and Mr. — are forgotten, this country will remember with gratitude, that Sir Jeffery Amherst had the honour of making sixteen
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French battalions prisoners of war—that he carried on the whole war in America at an expence less than the fortunes, which some individuals had acquired by contract and management in Germany ; —and that he *did not* put the savings into his own pocket.

If a british peerage be too high a reward for these services, at least do him justice. Do not assure the public that he was not contented with a revenue of four thousand pounds a year, when you know that the income of his government and two regiments, did not exceed two thousand three hundred, and that, until he was positively outraged, he never complained. As I profess dealing in facts, take the account.

Government of Virginia	1500
Fifteenth regiment	600
Commandant of the 60th	200
	<hr/> 2300

As to a peerage, you would have done well to consider upon what sort of people this honour has been conferred for ten years past. Among the rest, we should be glad to know what were your lordship's services or merits, when you were created baron of Harwich. I take for granted that they were of a different complexion from those of Sir J. A. since they have been so differently rewarded.

Here I shall conclude. You have sent Sir Jeffery Amherst to the plough. You have left him poor in every article of which a false fawning Minister could deprive him ; — but you have left him rich in the esteem, the love and veneration of his country. You cannot now recall him by any offer of wealth or honours. Yet I foretell that time will come, when you yourself will be the cause of his return. Proceed, my lord, as you have began, and you will soon reduce this country to an extremity, in which the wisest and best subjects *must* be called upon, and *must* be employed. Till then enjoy your triumph.

LUCIUS.

*The Correspondence between JUNIUS and Sir
WILLIAM DRAPER, Knight of the Bath.*

To the P R I N T E R.

S I R,

Jan. 21, 1769.

THE submission of a free people to the executive authority of government is no more than a compliance with laws, which they themselves have enacted. While the national honour is firmly maintained abroad, and while justice is impartially administered at home, the obedience of the subject will be voluntary, chearful, and I might almost say, unlimited. A generous nation is grateful even for the preservation of it's rights, and willingly extends the respect due to the office of a good prince into an affection for his person. Loyalty, in the heart and understanding of an Englishman, is a national attachment to the guardian of the laws. Prejudices and passion have sometimes carried it to a criminal length; and, whatever foreigners may imagine, we know that Englishmen have erred as much in a mistaken zeal for particular persons and families, as they ever did in defence of what they thought most dear and interesting to themselves.

It naturally fills us with resentment, to see such a temper insulted or abused. In reading the history of a free people, whose rights have been invaded, we are interested in their cause. Our own feelings tell us how long they ought to have submitted, and at what moment it would have

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been treachery to themselves not to have resisted. How much warmer will be our resentment, if experience should bring the fatal example home to ourselves !

The situation of this country is alarming enough to rouse the attention of every man, who pretends to a concern for the public welfare. Appearances justify suspicion, and when the safety of a nation is at stake, suspicion is a just ground of enquiry. Let us enter into it with candour and decency. Respect is due to the station of ministers ; and, if a resolution must at last be taken, there is none so likely to be supported with firmness, as that which has been adopted with moderation.

The ruin or prosperity of a state depends so much upon the administration of it's government, that, to be acquainted with the merit of a ministry, we need only observe the condition of the people. If we see them obedient to the laws, prosperous in their industry, united at home, and respected abroad, we may reasonably presume their affairs are conducted by men of experience, abilities and virtue. If, on the contrary, we see an universal spirit of distrust and dissatisfaction, a rapid decay of trade, dissensions in all parts of the empire, and a total loss of respect in the eyes of foreign powers, we may pronounce, without hesitation, that the government of that country is weak, distracted, and corrupt. The multitude, in all countries, are patient to a certain point. Ill-usage may rouse their indignation, and hurry them into excesses, but the original fault is in government. Perhaps, there never was an instance of a change, in the circumstances and temper of a whole nation, so sudden and extraordinary as that

that which the misconduct of ministers has, within these very few years, produced in Great Britain. When our gracious Sovereign ascended the throne, we were a flourishing and a contented people. If the personal virtues of a King could have insured the happiness of his subjects, the scene could not have altered so entirely as it has done. The idea of uniting all parties, of trying all characters, and distributing the offices of state by rotation, was gracious and benevolent to an extreme, though it has not yet produced the many salutary effects, which was intended by it. To say nothing of the wisdom of such plan, it undoubtedly arose from an unbounded goodness of heart, in which folly had no share. It was not a capricious partiality to new faces;—it was not a natural turn for low intrigue; nor was it the treacherous amusement of double and triple negotiations. No, Sir, it arose from a continued anxiety in the purest of all possible hearts, for the general welfare. Unfortunately for us, the event has not been answerable to the design. After a rapid succession of changes, we are reduced to that state, which hardly any change can mend. Yet there is no extremity of distress, which of itself ought to reduce a great nation to despair. It is not the disorder but the physician;—it is not a casual concurrence of calamitous circumstances, it is the pernicious hand of government, which alone can make a whole people desperate.

Without much political sagacity, or any extraordinary depth of observation, we need only mark how the principal departments of the state are bestowed, and look no farther for the true cause of every mischief that befalls us.

The finances of a nation, sinking under it's debts and expences, are committed to a young nobleman already ruined by play. Introduced to act under the auspices of Lord C——m, and left at the head of affairs by that nobleman's retreat, he became minister by accident: but deserting the principles and professions, which gave him a moment's popularity, we see him, from every honourable engagement to the public, an apostate by design. As for business, the world knows yet nothing of his talents or resolution; unless a wayward, wavering inconsistency be a mark of genius, and caprice a demonstration of spirit. It may be said, perhaps, that it is his grace's province, as surely it is his passion, rather to distribute than to save the public money, and that Lord N—— is C——r of the E——r, the first Lord of the T——y may be as thoughtless and as extravagant as he pleases. I hope, however, he will not rely too much on the fertility of Lord N——'s genius for finance. His lordship is yet to give us the first proof of his abilities: It may be candid to suppose that he has hitherto, voluntarily, concealed his talents; intending, perhaps, to astonish the world, when we least expect it, with a knowledge of trade, a choice of expedients, and a depth of resources, equal to the necessities, and far beyond the hopes of his country. He must now exert the whole power of his capacity, if he would wish us to forget, that since he has been in office, no plan has been formed, no system adhered to, nor any one important measure adopted for the relief of public credit. If his plan for the service of the current year be not irrevocably fixed on, let me warn him to think seriously of consequences before he ventures

ventures to increase the public debt. Outraged and oppressed as we are, this nation will not bear, after a six years peace, to see new millions borrowed, without any eventual diminution of debt, or reduction of interest. The attempt might rouse a spirit of resentment, which might reach beyond the sacrifice of a minister. As to the debt upon the civil list, the people of England expect that it will not be paid without a strict enquiry how it was incurred. If it must be paid by parliament, let me advise the C——r of the E——r to think of some better expedient than a lottery. To support an expensive war, or in circumstances of absolute necessity, a lottery perhaps may be allowable; but, besides that it is at all times the very worst way of raising money upon the people, I think it ill becomes the R——l dignity to have the debts of a —— provided for, like the repairs of a country bridge or a decayed hospital. The management of the K——g's affairs in the H—— of C—— cannot be more disgraced than it has been. A leading minister repeatedly called down for absolute ignorance;—ridiculous motions ridiculously withdrawn;—deliberate plans disconcerted, and a week's preparation of graceful oratory lost in a moment, give us some, though not adequate idea of Lord N——'s parliamentary abilities and influence. Yet before he had the misfortune to be C—— of the E——r, he was neither an object of derision to his enemies nor of melancholy pity to his friends.

A series of inconsistent measures had alienated the colonies from their duty as subjects, and from their natural affection to their common country. When Mr. Grenville was placed at the head of the T———y, he felt the impossibility of Great Britain's

Britain's supporting such an establishment as her former successes had made indisputable, and at the same time, of giving any sensible relief to foreign trade and to the weight of the public debt. He thought it equitable that those parts of the empire, which had benefited most by the expences of the war, should contribute something to the peace, and he had no doubt of the constitutional right vested in parliament to raise that contribution. But unfortunately for this country, Mr. Grenville was at any rate to be distressed because he was minister, and Mr. P—t and Lord C——n were to be the patrons of America, because they were in opposition. Their declaration gave spirit and argument to the colonies, and while perhaps they meant no more than the ruin of a minister, they in effect divided the one half of the empire from the other.

Under one administration the stamp act is made, under the second it is repealed, under the third, in spite of all experience, a new mode of taxing the colonies is invented, and a question revived, which ought to have been buried in oblivion. In these circumstances, a new office is established for the business of the plantations, and the Earl of H——h called forth, at a most critical season, to govern America. The choice at least announced to us a man of superior capacity and knowledge. Whether he be so or not, let his dispatches, as far as they have appeared, let his measures, as far as they have operated, determine for him. In the former, we have seen strong assertions without proof, declamation without argument, and violent censures without dignity or moderation ; but neither correctness in the composition, nor judgment in the design. As for his measures,

measures, let it be remembered that he was called upon to conciliate and unite ; and that when he entered into office, the most refractory of the colonies were still disposed to proceed by the constitutional methods of petition and remonstrance. Since that period, they have been driven into excesses little short of rebellion. Petitions have been hindered from reaching the throne ; and the continuance of one of the principal assemblies put upon an arbitrary condition, which, considering the temper they were in, it was impossible they should comply with, and which would have availed nothing as to the general question if it had been complied with. So violent, and I believe I may call it so unconstitutional an exertion of the prerogative, to say nothing of the weak, injudicious terms in which it was conveyed, give us as humble an opinion of his lordship's capacity, as it does of his temper and moderation. While we are at peace with other nations, our military force may perhaps be spared to support the Earl of H——h's measures in America. Whenever that force shall be necessarily withdrawn or diminished, the dismissal of such a minister will neither console *us* for his imprudence, nor remove the settled resentment of a people, who, complaining of an act of the legislature, are outraged by an unwarrantable stretch of prerogative, and, supporting their claims by argument, are insulted with declamation.

Drawing lots would be a prudent and reasonable method of appointing the officers of state, compared to a late disposition of the secretary's office. Lord R——d was acquainted with the affairs and temper of the southern courts : Lord W——h

W——h was equally qualified for either department. By what unaccountable caprice has it happened, that the latter, who pretends to no experience whatsoever, is removed to the most important of the two departments, and the former by preference placed in an office, where his experience can be of no use to him? Lord W——h had distinguished himself in his first employment by a spirited, if not judicious conduct. He had animated the civil magistrate beyond the tone of civil authority, and had directed the operations of the army to more than military execution. Recovered from the errors of his youth, from the distraction of play, and the bewitching smiles of Burgundy, behold him exerting the whole strength of his clear, unclouded faculties in the service of the crown. It was not the heat of midnight excesses, nor ignorance of the laws, nor the furious spirit of the house of B——d: No, Sir, when this respectable minister interposed his authority between the magistrate and the people, and signed the mandate, on which, for ought he knew, the lives of thousands depended, he did it from the deliberate motion of his heart, supported by the best of his judgment.

It has lately been a fashion to pay a compliment to the bravery and generosity of the c——r in ch——, at the expence of his understanding. Thy who love him least, make no question of his courage, while his friends dwell chiefly on the facility of his disposition. Admitting him to be as brave as a total absence of all feeling and reflection can make him, let us see what sort of merit he derives from the remainder of his character. If it be generosity to accumulate in his own person and family a number of lucrative employments;

ments ; to provide, at the public expence, for every creature that bears the name of M——rs ; and neglecting the merit and services of the rest of the army, to heap promotions upon his favourites and dependants, the present c——r in ch—— is the most generous man alive. Nature has been sparing of her gifts to this noble lord ; but where birth and fortune are united, we expect the noble pride and independence of a man of spirit, not the servile humiliating compliances of a courtier. As to the goodness of his heart, if a proof of it be taken from the facility of never refusing, what conclusion shall we draw from the indecency of never performing ? And if the discipline of the army be in any degree preserved, what thanks are due to a man, whose cares, notoriously confined to filling up vacancies, have degraded the office of c——r in ch—— into a broker of commissions ?

With respect to the navy, I shall only say, that this country is so highly indebted to Sir Edward Hawke, that no expence should be spared to secure him an honourable and affluent retreat.

The pure and impartial administration of justice is perhaps the firmest bond to secure a cheerful submission of the people, and to engage their affections to government. It is not sufficient that questions of private right or wrong are justly decided, nor that judges are superior to the vileness of pecuniary corruption. Jefferies himself, when the court had no interest, was an upright judge. A court of justice may be subject to another sort of bias, more important and pernicious, as it reaches beyond the interest of individuals, and affects the whole community.—A judge, under the influence of government, may be honest enough

in the decision of private causes, yet a traitor to the public. When a victim is marked out by the ministry, this judge will offer himself to perform the sacrifice. He will not scruple to prostitute his dignity, and betray the sanctity of his office, whenever an arbitrary point is to be carried for g——t, or the resentments of a c——t to be gratified.

These principles and proceedings, odious and contemptible as they are, in effect are no less injudicious. A wise and generous people are roused by every appearance of oppressive, unconstitutional measures, whether those measures are supported openly by the power of g——t, or masked under the forms of a c——t of j—st—e. Prudence and self-preservation will oblige the most moderate dispositions to make common cause, even with a man whose conduct they censure, if they see him persecuted in a way which the real spirit of the laws will not justify. The facts on which these marks are founded, are too notorious to require an application.

This, Sir, is the detail. In one view, behold, a nation overwhelmed with debt;—her revenues wasted;—her trade declining;—the affections of her colonies alienated;—the duty of the magistrate transferred to the soldiery;—a gallant army, which never fought unwillingly but against their fellow subjects, mouldering away for want of the direction of a man of common abilities and spirit;—and, in the last instance, the administration of justice become odious and suspected to the whole body of the people. This deplorable scene admits but of one addition,—that we are governed by counsels, from which a reasonable man can expect no remedy but poison, no relief but death.

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If by the immediate interposition of Providence it were possible for us to escape a crisis so full of terror and despair, posterity will not believe the history of the present times. They will either conclude that our distresses were imaginary, or that we had the good fortune to be governed by men of acknowledged integrity and wisdom : They will not believe it possible, that their ancestors could have survived, or recovered from so desperate a condition, while a Duke of G——n was prime minister,—a Lord N—— chancellor of the exchequer,—a W——th and a H——h secretaries of state,—a G———y commander in chief,—and a M———d chief criminal judge of the kingdom.

J U N I U S.

*An answer to the foregoing, by Sir William Draper,
Knight of the Bath.*

S I R,

Clifton, Jan. 26, 1769.

THE kingdom swarms with such numbers of felonious robbers of private character and virtue, that no honest or good man is safe ; especially as these cowardly base assassins stab in the dark, without having the courage to sign their real names to their malevolent and wicked productions. A writer who signs himself Junius, in the Public Advertiser of the 21st instant, opens the deplorable situation of his country in a very affecting manner : with a pompous parade of his candour and decency, he tells us, that we see dissensions in all parts of the empire, and universal

spirit of distrust and dissatisfaction, and a total loss of respect towards us in the eyes of foreign powers. But this writer, with all his boasted candor, has not told us the real cause of the evils he so pathetically enumerates. I shall take the liberty to explain the cause for him. Junius, and such writers as himself, occasion all the mischief complained of, by falsely and maliciously traducing the best characters in the kingdom. For when our deluded people at home, and foreigners abroad, read the poisonous and inflammatory libels that are daily published with impunity, to vilify those who are any way distinguished by their good qualities and eminent virtues: when they find no notice taken of, or reply given to these slanderous tongues and pens, their conclusion is, that both the ministers and the nation have been fairly described, and they act accordingly. I think it therefore the duty of every good citizen to stand forth, and endeavour to undeceive the public, when the vilest arts are made use of to defame and blacken the brightest characters among us. An eminent author affirms it to be almost as criminal to hear a worthy man traduced without attempting his justification, as to be the author of the calumny against him. For my own part, I think it a sort of misprision of treason against society. No man therefore who knows Lord Granby, can possibly hear so good and great a character most vilely abused, without a warm and just indignation against this Junius, this high priest of envy, malice, and all uncharitableness, who has endeavoured to sacrifice our beloved commander in chief at the altars of his horrid deities. Nor is the injury done to his lordship alone, but to the whole nation, which
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may too soon feel the contempt, and consequently the attacks of our late enemies, if they can be induced to believe, that the person on whom the safety of these kingdoms so much depends, is unequal to his high station, and destitute of those qualities which form a good general. One would have thought that his lordship's services in the cause of his country, from the battle of Culloden to his most glorious conclusion of the late war, might have intitled him to common respect and decency at least ; but this uncandid indecent writer has gone so far as to turn one of the most amiable men of the age into a stupid, unfeeling and senseless being ; possessed indeed of a personal courage, but void of those essential qualities which distinguish the commander from the common soldier.

A very long, uninterrupted, impartial, I will add, a most disinterested friendship with Lord Granby, gives me the right to affirm, that all Junius's assertions are false and scandalous. Lord Granby's courage, though of the brightest and most ardent kind, is among the lowest of his numerous good qualities ; he was formed to excel in war by nature's liberality to his mind as well as person. Educated and instructed by his most noble father, and a most spirited as well as excellent scholar, the present Bishop of Bangor, he was trained to the nicest sense of honour, and to the truest and noblest sort of pride, that of never doing or suffering a mean action. A sincere love and attachment to his King and country, and to their glory, first impelled him to the field, where he never gained ought but honour. He impaired, through his bounty, his own fortune ; for his bounty, which this writer would in vain depreciate,

ciate, is founded upon the noblest of the human affections, it flows from a heart melting to goodness from the most refined humanity. Can a man, who is described as unfeeling, and void of reflection, be constantly employed in seeking proper objects on whom to exercise those glorious virtues of compassion and generosity? The distressed officer, the soldier, the widow, the orphan, and a long list besides, know that vanity has no share in his frequent donations; he gives, because he feels their distresses. Nor has he ever been rapacious with one hand to be bountiful with the other; yet this uncandid Junius would insinuate, that the dignity of the commander in chief is depraved into the base office of a commission broker; that is, Lord Granby bargains for the sale of commissions; for it must have this meaning, if it has any at all. But where is the man living who can justly charge his lordship with such mean practices? Why does not Junius produce him? Junius knows that he has no other means of wounding this hero, than from some missile weapon, shot from an obscure corner: He seeks, as all such defamatory writers do,

————— *spargere voces*
In vulgum ambiguas —————

to raise suspicion in the minds of the people. But I hope that my countrymen will be no longer imposed upon by artful and designing men, or by wretches, who, bankrupts in business, in fame and in fortune, mean nothing more than to involve this country in the same common ruin with themselves. Hence it is, that they are constantly aiming their dark and too often fatal weapons against those who stand forth as the bulwark
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of our national safety. Lord Granby was too conspicuous a mark not to be their object. He is next attacked for being unfaithful to his promises and engagements : Where are Junius's proofs ? Although I could give some instances, where a breach of promise would be a virtue, especially in the case of those who would pervert the open, unsuspecting moments of convivial mirth, into sly, insidious applications for preferment, or party systems, and would endeavour to surprize a good man, who cannot bear to see any one leave him dissatisfied, into unguarded promises. L—d G——by's attention to his own family and relations, is called selfish. Had he not attended to them, when fair and just opportunities presented themselves, I should have thought him unfeeling, and void of reflection indeed. How are any man's friends or relations to be provided for, but from the influence and protection of the patron ? It is unfair to suppose that Lord Granby's friends have not as much merit as the friends of any other great man : If he is generous at the public expence, as Junius invidiously calls it, the public is at no more expence for his lordship's friends, than it would be, if any other set of men possessed those offices. The charge is ridiculous !

The last charge against Lord Granby is of a most serious and alarming nature indeed. Junius asserts, that the army is mouldering away for want of the direction of a man of common abilities and spirit. The present condition of the army gives the directest lie to his assertions. It was never upon a more respectable footing with regard to discipline, and all the essentials that can form good soldiers. Lord Ligonier delivered a firm and noble palladium of our safeties into Lord Granby's

Granby's hands, who has kept it in the same good order in which he received it. The strictest care has been taken to fill up the vacant commissions with such gentlemen as have the glory of their ancestors to support, as well as their own, and are doubly bound to the cause of their King and country, from motives of private property, as well as public spirit. The adjutant general, who has the immediate care of the troops, after Lord Granby, is an officer who would do great honour to any service in Europe, for his correct arrangements, good sense and discernment upon all occasions, and for a punctuality and precision which give the most entire satisfaction to all who are obliged to consult him. The reviewing generals, who inspect the army twice a year, have been selected with the greatest care, and have answered the important trust reposed in them in the most laudable manner. Their reports of the condition of the army are much more to be credited than those of Junius, whom I do advise to atone for his shameful aspersions, by asking pardon of Lord Granby, and the whole kingdom, whom he has offended by his abominable scandals. In short, to turn Junius's own battery against him, I must assert in his own words, "that he has given strong assertions without proof, declamation without argument, and violent censures without dignity or moderation."

WILLIAM DRAPER.

To Sir William Draper, Knight of the Bath.

S I R,

YOUR defence of Lord G——y does honour to the goodness of your heart. You feel, as you ought to do, for the reputation of your friend, and you express yourself in the warmest language of the passions. In any other cause, I doubt not, you would have cautiously weighed the consequences of committing your name to the licentious discourses and malignant opinions of the world. But here, I presume, you thought it would be a breach of friendship to lose one moment in consulting your understanding; as if an appeal to the public were no more than a military *coup de main*, where a brave man has no rules to follow, but the dictates of his courage. Touched with your generosity, I freely forgive the excesses into which it has led you; and, far from resenting those terms of reproach, which, considering that you are an advocate for decorum, you have heaped upon me rather too liberally, I place them to the account of an honest unreflecting indignation, in which your cooler judgment and natural politeness had no concern. I approve of the spirit, with which you have given your name to the public; and, if it were a proof of any thing but spirit, I should have thought myself bound to follow your example. I should have hoped that even *my* name might carry some authority with it, if I had not seen how very little weight or consideration a printed paper receives even from the respectable signature of Sir William Draper.

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You begin with a general assertion that writers, such as I am, are the real cause of all the public evils we complain of. And do you really think, Sir William, that the licentious pen of a political writer is able to produce such important effects? A little calm reflection might have shewn you, that national calamities do not arise from the description, but from the real character and conduct of ministers. To have supported your assertion, you should have proved that the present ministry are unquestionably the *best and rightest* characters of the kingdom; and that, if the affections of the colonies have been alienated, if Corsica has been shamefully abandoned, if commerce languishes, if public credit is threatened with a new debt, and your own Manilla ransom most dishonourably given up, it has all been owing to the malice of political writers, who will not suffer the best and brightest of characters (meaning still the present ministry) to take a single right step for the honour or interest of the nation. But it seems you were a little tender of coming to particulars. Your conscience insinuated to you, that it would be prudent to leave the characters of G——n, N——th, H——gh, W——th, and M——d, to shift for themselves; and truly, Sir William, the part you *have* undertaken is at least as much as you are equal to.

Without disputing Lord G——'s courage, we are yet to learn in what articles of military knowledge nature has been so very liberal to his mind. If you have served with him, you ought to have pointed out some instances of able disposition and well-concerted enterprize, which might fairly be attributed to his capacity as a General. It is you, Sir William, who make your friend appear awkward

ward and ridiculous, by giving him a laced suit of tawdry qualifications, which nature never intended him to wear.

You say, he has acquired nothing but honour in the field. Is the ordnance nothing? Are the blues nothing? Is the command of the army, with all the patronage annexed to it, nothing? Where he got these *nothings* I know not; but you at least ought to have told us where he deserved them.

As to his bounty, compassion, &c. it would have been but little to the purpose, though you had proved all that you have asserted. I meddle with nothing but his character as c——r in c——, and though I acquit him of the baseness of selling commissions, I still assert that his military cares have never extended beyond the disposal of vacancies; and I am justified by the complaints of the whole army, when I say that, in this distribution, he consults nothing but p——y interests, or the gratification of his immediate dependants. As to his servile submission of the reigning ministry, let me ask, whether he did not desert the cause of the whole army, when he suffered Sir Jeffery Amherst to be sacrificed, and what share he had in recalling that officer to the service? Did he not betray the just interest of the army, in permitting Lord P——y to have a regiment? and does he not at this moment give up all character and dignity as a gentleman, in receding from his own repeated declarations in favour of Mr. Wilkes.

In the two next articles I think we are agreed. You candidly admit, that he often makes such promises as it is a virtue in him to violate, and that no man is more assiduous to provide for his rela-

tions at the public expence. I did not urge the last as an absolute vice in his disposition, but to prove that a *careless disinterested spirit* is no part of his character; and as to the other, I desire it may be remembered that *I* never descended to the indecency of inquiring into his *convivial hours*. It is you, Sir William Draper, who have taken pains to represent your friend in the character of a drunken landlord, who deals out his promises as liberally as his liquor, and will suffer no man to leave his table either sorrowful or sober. None but an intimate friend, who must frequently have seen him in these unhappy disgraceful moments, could have described him so well.

The last charge, of the neglect of the army, is indeed the most material of all. I am sorry to tell you, Sir William, that in this article, your first fact is false, and as there is nothing more painful to me than to give a direct contradiction to a gentleman of your appearance, I could wish that, in your future publications, you would pay a greater attention to the truth of your premises, before you suffer your genius to hurry you to a conclusion. Lord Ligonier *did not* deliver the army (which you, in a classical language, are pleased to call a Palladium) into Lord G——by's hands. It was taken from him, much against his inclination, some two or three years before Lord G——y was commander in chief. As to the state of the army, I should be glad to know, where you have received your intelligence. Was it in the rooms at Bath, or at your retreat at Clifton? The reports of reviewing generals comprehend only a few regiments in England, which, as they are immediately under the royal inspection, are perhaps in some tolerable order. But do you know

know any thing of the troops in the West Indies, the Mediterranean, and North America, to say nothing of a whole army absolutely ruined in Ireland? Inquire a little into facts, Sir William, before you publish your next panegyric upon Lord G——y, and believe me you will find there is a fault at head quarters, which even the acknowledged care and abilities of the Adjutant General cannot correct.

Permit me now, Sir William, to address myself personally to you, by way of thanks for the honour of your correspondence. You are by no means undeserving of notice; and it may be of consequence even to Lord G——y to have it determined, whether or no the man who has praised him so lavishly, be himself deserving of praise. When you returned to Europe, you zealously undertook the cause of that gallant army, by whose bravery at Manilla your own fortunes had been established. You complained, you threatened, you even appealed to the public in print. By what accident did it happen, that in the midst of all this bustle, and these clamours for justice to your injured troops, the name of the Manilla ransom was suddenly buried in a profound, and, since that time, an uninterrupted silence? Did the Ministry suggest any motives to you, strong enough to tempt a man of honour to desert and betray the cause of his fellow soldiers? Was it that blushing ribband, which is now the perpetual ornament of your person? or was it that regiment, which you afterwards (a thing unprecedented among soldiers) sold to Colonel Giffborne? or was it that government, the full pay of which you are contented to hold, with the half-pay of an Irish Colonel? And do you now, after
a retreat

a retreat not very like that of Scipio, presume to intrude yourself, unthought of, uncalled for, upon the patience of the public? Are your flatteries of the c——r in ch—— directed to another regiment, which you may again dispose of on the same honourable terms? We know your prudence, Sir William, and I should be sorry to stop your preferment.

J U N I U S,

The following short but curious paper ought not to be omitted.

Clifton, Feb. 6, 1769.

IF the voice of a well meaning individual could be heard amid the clamour, fury, and madness of the times, would it appear too rash and presumptuous to propose to the public, that an act of indemnity and oblivion may be made for all past transactions and offences, as well with respect to Mr. Wilkes as to our colonies? Such salutary expedients have been embraced by the wisest nations; such expedients have been made use of by our own, when the public confusions had arrived to some very dangerous and alarming crisis; and I believe it needs not the gift of prophecy to foretell, that some such crisis is now approaching. Perhaps it will be more wise and praise-worthy to make such an act immediately, in order to prevent the possibility, not to say the probability of an insurrection at home, and in our dependencies abroad, than it will be to be obliged to have recourse to one after the mischief has been done, and the kingdom has groaned under all the miseries that avarice, ambition, hypocrisy, and madness, could inflict upon it. An act of grace, indemnity, and oblivion, was passed upon the restoration of king Charles II. but I will venture to say, that had such an act been seasonably passed in the reign of his unhappy father, the civil war had been prevented, and no restoration had been necessary. Is it too late to recall the messengers and edicts of wrath! Cannot the money that is now wasted in endless and mutual prosecutions, and in stopping the mouth of one man, and in opening that of another, be better employed in erecting a temple to concord? Let Mr. Wilkes lay the first stone, and such a stone as I hope the builders

To JUNIUS.

S I R,

Clifton, Feb. 10, 1769.

I Received Junius's favour last night; he is determined to keep his advantage by the help of his mask; it is an excellent protection, it has saved many a man from an untimely end. But whenever he will be honest enough to lay it aside, avow himself, and produce the face which has so long lurked behind it, the world will be able to judge of his motives for writing such infamous invectives. His real name will discover his freedom and independency, or his servility to a faction. Disappointed ambition, resentment for defeated hopes, and desire of revenge, assume but too often the appearance of public spirit; but be his designs wicked or charitable, Junius should learn that it is possible to condemn measures, without a barbarous and criminal outrage against men. Junius delights to mangle carcases with a hatchet; his language and instrument have a great connection with Clare-market, and, to do him justice, he handles his weapon most admirably. One would imagine he had been taught to throw it by the savages of America. It is therefore high time for me to step in once more to shield

ders will not refuse. May this parliament, to use lord Clarendon's expression, be called *The Healing Parliament!* May our foul wounds be cleansed, and then closed! The English have been as famous for good nature as for valour; let it not be said that such qualities are degenerated into savage ferocity. If any of my friends in either house of legislature shall condescend to listen to, and improve these hints, I shall think that I have not lived in vain.

WILLIAM DRAPER.

shield my friend from this merciless weapon, although I may be wounded in the attempt. But I must first ask Junius, by what forced analogy and construction the moments of convivial mirth are made to signify indecency, a violation of engagements, a drunken landlord, and a desire that every one in company should be drunk likewise? He must have called all the flowers of St. Giles's and Billingsgate to have produced such a piece of oratory. Here the hatchet descends with ten-fold vengeance, but, alas! it hurts no one but it's master! For Junius must not think to put words into my mouth, that seem too foul even for his own.

My friend's political engagements I know not, so cannot pretend to explain them, or assert their consistency. I know not whether Junius be considerable enough to belong to any party; if he should be so, can he affirm that he has always adhered to one set of men and measures? Is he sure that he has never sided with those whom he was first hired to abuse? Has he never abused those he was hired to praise? To say the truth, most men's politics sit much too loosely about them. But as my friend's military character was the chief object that engaged me in this controversy, to that I shall return.

Junius asks what instances my friend has given of his military skill and capacity as a general? When and where he gained his honour? When he deserved his emolument? The united voice of the army which served under him, the glorious testimony of Prince Ferdinand, and of vanquished enemies, all Germany will tell him. Junius repeats the complaints of the army against p——y influence. I love the army too well,
not

not to wish that such influence were less. Let Junius point out the time when it has not prevailed. It was of the least force in the time of that great man, the late Duke of Cumberland, who, as a prince of the blood, was able as well as willing to stem a torrent which would have overborne any private subject. In time of war this influence is small. In peace, when discontent and faction have the surest means to operate, especially in this country, and when, from a scarcity of public spirit, the wheels of government are rarely moved, but by the power and force of obligations, it's weight is always too great: Yet if this influence at present has done no greater harm, than the placing Earl Percy at the head of a regiment, I do not think that either the rights or best interests of the army are sacrificed and betrayed, or the nation undone. Let me ask Junius, if he knows any one nobleman in the army, who has had a regiment by seniority? I feel myself happy in seeing young noblemen of illustrious name and great property come among us. They are an additional security to the kingdom from foreign or domestic slavery. Junius needs not be told, that should the time ever come, when this nation is to be defended only by those, who have nothing more to lose than their arms and their pay, it's danger will be great indeed! A happy mixture of men of quality with soldiers of fortune is always to be wished for. But the main point is still to be contended for, I mean the discipline and condition of the army; and I still must maintain, though contradicted by Junius, that it was never upon a more respectable footing, to all the essentials that can form good soldiers, than it is at present. Junius

is forced to allow that our army at home may be in some tolerable order; yet how kindly does he invite our late enemies to the invasion of Ireland, by assuring them that the army in that kingdom is totally ruined! (The colonels of that army are much obliged to him.) I have too great an opinion of the military talents of the lord lieutenant, and of all their diligence and capacity, to believe it. If from the strange, unaccountable fatality, the people of that kingdom cannot be induced to consult their own security, by such an effectual augmentation, as may enable the troops there to act with power and energy, is the commander in chief here to blame? Or is he to blame, because the troops in the Mediterranean, in the West Indies, in America, labour under great difficulties from the scarcity of men, which is but too visible all over these kingdoms? Many of our forces are in climates unfavourable to British constitutions, their loss is in proportion. Britain must recruit all these regiments from her own emaciated bosom, or more precariously, by Catholics from Ireland. We are likewise subject to the fatal drains to the East Indies, to Senegal, and the alarming emigrations of our people to other countries: Such depopulation can only be repaired by a long peace, or by some sensible bill of naturalization.

I must now take the liberty to talk to Junius on my own account. He is pleased to tell me that he addresses himself to me *personally*. I shall be glad to see him. It is his *Impersonality* that I complain of, and invisible attacks: for his dagger in the air is only to be regarded, because one cannot see the hand which holds it; but had he not wounded other people more deeply than myself,

self, I should not have obtruded myself at all on the patience of the public.

Mark how a plain tale shall put him down, and transfuse the blush of my ribband into his cheeks. Junius tells me, that at my return, I zealously undertook the cause of the gallant army, by whose bravery at Manilla my own fortunes were established; that I complained, that I even appealed to the public. I did so; I glory in having done so, as I had an undoubted right to vindicate my own character, attacked by a Spanish memorial, and to assert the rights of my brave companions. I glory likewise that I have never taken up my pen, but to vindicate the injured. Junius asks by what accident did it happen, that in the midst of all this bustle, and all the clamours for justice to the injured troops, the Manilla ransom was suddenly buried in a profound, and since that time, an uninterrupted silence? I will explain the cause to the public. The several ministers who have been employed since that time have been very desirous to do us justice from two most laudable motives, a strong inclination to assist injured bravery, and to acquire a well-deserved popularity to themselves. Their efforts have been in vain. Some were ingenuous enough to own, that they could not think of involving this distressed nation in another war for our private concerns. In short, our rights, for the present, are sacrificed to national convenience; and I must confess, that although I may lose five-and-twenty thousand pounds by their acquiescence to this breach of faith in the Spaniards, I think they are in the right to temporize, considering the critical situation of this country, convulsed in every part by poison infused by anonymous, wicked, and

incendiary writers. Lord Shelburne will do me the justice to own, that, in September last, I waited upon him with a joint memorial from the admiral Sir S. Cornish and myself, in behalf of our injured companions. His lordship was as frank upon the occasion as other secretaries had been before him. He did not deceive us by giving any immediate hopes of relief.

Junius would basely insinuate, that my silence may have been purchased by my government, by my *blushing* ribband, by my regiment, by the sale of that regiment, and by half-pay as an Irish colonel.

His majesty was pleased to give me my government for my service at Madras. I had my first regiment in 1757. Upon my return from Manilla, his majesty, by lord Egremont, informed me, that I should have the first vacant red ribband, as a reward for my services in an enterprize, which I had planned as well as executed. The Duke of Bedford and Mr. Grenville confirmed those assurances many months before the Spaniards had protested the ransom bills. To accommodate lord Clive, then going upon a most important service to Bengal, I waved my claim to the vacancy which then happened. As there was no other vacancy until the duke of Grafton and lord Rockingham were joint ministers, I was then honoured with the order, and it is surely no small honour to me, that in such a succession of ministers, they were all pleased to think that I had deserved it; in my favour they were all united. Upon the reduction of the 79th regiment, which had served so gloriously in the East Indies, his majesty, unsolicited by me, gave me the 16th of foot as an equivalent. My motives for retiring
afterwards

afterwards are foreign to the purpose; let it suffice, that his majesty was pleased to approve of them; they are such as no man can think indecent, who knows the shocks that repeated vicissitudes of heat and cold, of dangerous and sickly climates, will give to the best constitutions in a pretty long course of service. I resigned my regiment to colonel Gisborne, a very good officer, for his half-pay, 200*l.* Irish annuity; so that, according to Junius, I have been bribed to say nothing more of the Manilla ransom, and sacrifice those brave men by the strange avarice of accepting three hundred and eighty pound per ann. and giving up eight hundred! If this be bribery, it is not the bribery of these times. As to my flattery, those who know me will judge of it. By the asperity of Junius's stile, I cannot indeed call him a flatterer, unless it be as a cynick or a mastiff; if he wags his tail, he will still growl and long to bite. The public will now judge of the credit that ought to be given to Junius's writings, from the falsities that he has insinuated with respect to myself.

WILLIAM DRAPER.

To Sir William Draper, Knight of the Bath.

S I R,

I Should justly be suspected of acting upon motives of more than common enmity to Lord G——y, if I continued to give you fresh materials or occasion for writing in his defence. Individuals who hate, and the public who despise,
have

have read *your* Letters, Sir William, with infinitely more satisfaction than mine. Unfortunately for him, his reputation, like that unhappy country, to which you refer me for his last military achievements, has suffered more by his friends than his enemies. In mercy to him let us drop the subject. For my own part, I willingly leave it to the public to determine whether your vindication of your friend has been as able and judicious, as it was certainly well intended ; and you, I think, may be satisfied with the warm acknowledgements he already owes you for making him the principal figure in a piece, in which, but for your amicable assistance, he might have passed without particular notice or distinction.

In justice to your friends, let your future labours be confined to the care of your own reputation. Your declaration, that you are happy in seeing young noblemen *come among us*, is liable to two objections. With respect to Lord P——y, it means nothing, for he was already in the army. He was aid de camp to the King, and had the rank of colonel. A regiment therefore could not make him a more military man, though it made him richer, and probably at the expence of some brave, deserving, friendless officer.—The other concerns himself. After selling the companions of your victory in one instance, and after selling your profession in the other, by what authority do you presume to call yourself a soldier ? The plain evidence of facts is superior to all declarations. Before you were appointed to the 16th regiment, your complaints were a distress to government ;—from that moment you were silent. The conclusion is inevitable. You insinuate to
us

us that your ill state of health obliged you to quit the service. The retirement necessary to repair a broken constitution would have been as good a reason for not accepting, as for resigning the command of a regiment. There is certainly an error of the press, or an affected obscurity in that paragraph, where you speak of your bargain with colonel Gisborne. Instead of attempting to answer what I really do not understand, permit me to explain to the public what I really know. In exchange for your regiment, you accepted of a colonel's half pay (at least 220 l. a year) and an annuity of 200 l. for your own and lady Draper's life jointly.—And this is the losing bargain, which you would represent to us, as if you had given up an income of 800 l. a year for 380? Was it decent, was it honourable, in a man who pretends to love the army, and calls himself a soldier, to make a traffic of the royal favour, and to turn the highest honour of an active profession into a sordid provision for himself and his family? It were unworthy of me to press you farther. The contempt, with which the whole army heard of the manner of your retreat, assures me that as your conduct was not justified by precedent, it will never be thought an example for imitation.

The last and most important question remains, When you receive your half pay, do you, or do you not, take a solemn oath, or sign a declaration upon honour to the following effect? *That you do not actually hold any place of profit, civil or military, under his Majesty.* The charge, which this question plainly conveys against you, is of so shocking a complexion, that I sincerely wish you may be
able

able to answer it well, not merely for the colour of your reputation, but for your own inward peace of mind.

JUNIUS.

P. S. I had determined to leave the C——r in Ch—— in the quiet enjoyment of his friend and his bottle ; but Titus deserves an answer, and shall have a compleat one.

TO JUNIUS.

S I R,

Clifton, Feb. 23, 1769.

I Have a very short answer for Junius's question : I do not either take an oath, or declare upon honour, that I have no *place* of profit *civil* or military, when I receive the half pay as an Irish colonel. My most gracious Sovereign gives it me as a pension ; he was pleased to think I deserved it. The annuity of 200 l. Irish, and the equivalent for the half pay together, produces no more than 380 l. per annum, clear of fees and perquisites of office. I receive 167 l. from my government of Yarmouth. Total 547 l. per annum. My conscience is much at ease in these particulars ; my friends need not blush for me.

Junius makes much and frequent use of interrogations : they are arms that may be easily turned against himself. I could by malicious interrogation disturb the peace of the most virtuous man in the kingdom ; I could take the decalogue, and say to one man, Did you never steal ? To the next, Did you never commit murder ? And to

Junius

Junius himself, who is putting my life and conduct to the rack, Did you never bear false witness against thy neighbour? Junius must easily see, that unless he affirms to the contrary in his real name, some people, who may be as ignorant of him as I am, will be apt to suspect him of having deviated a little from the truth: therefore let Junius ask no more questions. You bite against a file: cease, viper.

W. D.

To Sir William Draper, Knight of the Bath.

S I R,

AN academical education has given you an unlimited command over the most beautiful figures of speech. Masks, hatchets, racks, and vipers dance thro' your letters in all mazes of metaphorical confusion. These are the gloomy companions of a disturbed imagination;—the melancholy madness of poetry, without the inspiration. I will not contend with you in point of composition. You are a scholar, Sir William, and, if I am truly informed, you write Latin with almost as much purity as English. Suffer me, then, for I am a plain unlettered man, to continue that stile of interrogation, which suits my capacity, and to which, considering the readiness of your answers, you ought to have no objection. Even Mr. Bingley promises to answer, if put to the torture.

Do you then really think that, if I were to ask a *most virtuous man* whether he ever committed

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theft,

theft, or murder, it would disturb his peace of mind? Such a question might perhaps discompose the gravity of his muscles, but I believe it would little affect the tranquillity of his conscience. Examine your own breast, Sir William, and you will discover, that reproaches and inquiries have no power to afflict either the man of unblemished integrity or the abandoned profligate. It is the middle compound character, which alone is vulnerable:—the man who, without firmness enough to avoid a dishonourable action, has feeling enough to be ashamed of it.

I thank you for your hint of the decalogue, and shall take an opportunity of applying it to some of your most virtuous friends in both houses of parliament.

You seem to have dropped the affair of your regiment; so let it rest. When you are appointed to another, I dare say you will not sell it for a gross sum, or for an annuity upon lives.

I am truly glad (for really, Sir William, I am not your enemy, nor did I begin this contest with you) that you have been able to clear yourself of a crime, though at the expence of the highest indiscretion. You say, that your half pay was given you by way of pension. I will not dwell upon the singularity of uniting in your own person two sorts of provision, which, in their own nature, and in all military and parliamentary views are incompatible; but I call upon you to justify that declaration, wherein you charge your — with having done an act in your favour notoriously against law. The half-pay, both in Ireland and England, is appropriated by parliament; and if it be given to persons, who, like you, are legally incapable of holding it, it is a breach of law. It would

would have been more decent in you to have called this dishonourable transaction by its true name ;—a jobb to accommodate two persons, by particular interest and management at the Castle. What sense must government have had of your services, when the rewards they have given you are only a disgrace to you !

And now, Sir William, I shall take my leave of you for ever. Motives, very different from any apprehension of your resentment, make it impossible you should ever know me. In truth, you have some reason to hold yourself indebted to me. From the lessons I have given, you may collect a profitable instruction for your future life. They will either teach you so to regulate your conduct as to be able to set the most malicious inquiries at defiance ; or, if that be a lost hope, they will teach you prudence enough not to attract the public attention upon a character, which will only pass without censure, when it passes without observation.

JUNIUS.

This dispute was revived by another republication of Juniu's letters, which pamphlet having fallen into Sir William Draper's hands, he wrote the following letter.

To JUNIUS.

S I R,

Clifton, Sept. 14.

HAVING accidentally seen a republication of your letters, wherein you have been pleased to *assert*, that I had *sold* the companions of my success; I am again obliged to declare the said assertion to be a most *infamous* and *malicious falsehood*; and I again call upon you to stand forth, avow yourself, and *prove* the charge. If you can make it out to the satisfaction of any one man in the kingdom, I will be content to be thought the worst man in it; if you do not, what must the nation think of you? *Party* has nothing to do in this affair: you have made a personal attack upon my honour, defamed me by a most vile calumny, which might possibly have sunk into oblivion, had not such uncommon pains been taken to renew and perpetuate this scandal, chiefly because it has been told in good language: for I give you full credit for your elegant diction, well turned periods, and Attic wit; but wit is oftentimes false, though it may appear brilliant; which is exactly the case of your *whole performance*. But, Sir, I am obliged in the most serious manner to accuse you of being guilty of *falsities*. You have said the thing that is *not*. To support your story, you have recourse to the following irresistible argument: "You *sold* the companions of your victory,

tory, because, when the sixteenth regiment was given to *you*, you was *silent*." The conclusion is inevitable. I believe, that such deep and acutereasoning could only come such an extraordinary writer as *Junius*. But unfortunately for you, the *premises* as well as the *conclusion* are absolutely *false*. Many applications have been made to the ministry on the subject of the Manilla Ransom since the time of my being colonel of that regiment. As I have for some years quitted London, I was obliged to have recourse to the honourable Colonel Monson and Sir Samuel Cornish to *negotiate* for me : In the last autumn I personally delivered a memorial to the Earl of Shelburne at his seat in Wiltshire. As you have told us of your importance, that you are a person of rank and fortune, and above a *common* bribe, you may in all probability be not *unknown* to his lordship, who can satisfy you of the truth of what I say. But I shall now take the liberty, Sir, to seize your battery, and turn it against yourself. If your puerile and tinsel logic could carry the least weight or conviction with it, how must you stand affected by the *inevitable conclusion*, as you are pleased to term it ? According to *Junius*, *silence is guilt*. In many of the public papers, you have been called in the most direct and offensive terms, a *liar* and a *coward*. When did you reply to these foul accusations ? You have been quite *silent* ; quite chop-fallen : Therefore, *because* you was *silent*, the nation has a right to pronounce you to be both a liar and a coward from your own argument : But, Sir, I will give you fairer play ; will afford you an opportunity to wipe off the first appellation ; by desiring the proofs of your charge against me. Produce them ! To wipe off the last, produce *yourself*.

yourself. People cannot bear any longer your *lion's skin*, and the despicable *imposture* of the *old Roman name* which you have *affected*. For the future, assume the name of some *modern* bravo and dark assassin: let your appellation have some affinity to your practice. But if I must *perish*, *Junius*, let me *perish* in the face of day; be for *once* a generous and open enemy. I allow that Gothic *appeals* to cold iron are no better proofs of a man's honesty and veracity than hot iron and burning ploughshares are of *female chastity*; but a soldier's honour is as delicate as a woman's; it must not be suspected; you have dared to throw more than a suspicion upon mine: you cannot but know the consequences, which even the meekness of christianity would pardon me for, after the injury you have done me.

WILLIAM DRAPER.

JUNIUS'S *Answer*.

Hæret lateri lethalis arundo.

To Sir WILLIAM DRAPER, K. B.

S I R,

AFTER so long an interval, I did not expect to see the debate revived between us. My answer to your last letter shall be short; for I write to you with reluctance, and I hope we shall now conclude our correspondence for ever.

Had you been originally, and without provocation, attacked by an anonymous writer, you would

would have some right to demand his name. But in this case you are a volunteer. You engaged in it with the unpremeditated gallantry of a soldier. You were content to set your name in opposition to a man, who would probably continue in concealment. You understood the terms upon which we were to correspond, and gave at least a tacit assent to them. After voluntarily attacking me under the character of Junius, what possible right have you to know me under any other? Will you forgive me if I insinuate to you, that you foresaw some honour in the apparent spirit of coming forward in person, and that you were not quite indifferent to the display of your literary qualifications?

You cannot but know that the republication of my letters was no more than a catchpenny contrivance of a printer, in which it was impossible I should be concerned, and for which I am no way answerable. At the same time I wish you to understand, that if I do not take the trouble of reprinting these papers, it is not from any fear of giving offence to Sir William Draper.

Your remarks upon a signature, adopted merely for distinction, are unworthy of notice; but when you tell me I have submitted to be called a liar and a coward, I must ask you in my turn, whether you seriously think it any way incumbent upon me to take notice of the silly invectives of every simpleton, who writes in news-papers; and what opinion you would have conceived of my discretion, if I had suffered myself to be the dupe of so shallow an artifice?

Your appeal to the sword, though consistent enough with your late profession, will neither prove your innocence nor clear you from suspicion.—

Your

Your complaints with regard to the Manilla ransom were, for a considerable time, a distress to government. You were appointed (greatly out of your turn) to the command of a regiment, and *during that administration*, we heard no more of Sir William Draper. The facts, of which I speak, may indeed be variously accounted for, but they are too notorious to be denied; and I think that you might have learnt at the University, that a false conclusion is an error in argument, not a breach of veracity. Your solicitations, I doubt not, were renewed under *another* administration. Admitting the fact, I fear an indifferent person would only infer from it, that experience had made you acquainted with the benefits of complaining. Remember, Sir, that you have yourself confessed, that, *considering the critical situation of this country, the ministry are in the right to temporise with Spain*. This confession reduces you to an unfortunate dilemma. By renewing your solicitations, you must either mean to force your country into a war at a most unseasonable juncture; or, having no view or expectation of that kind, that you look for nothing but a private compensation to yourself.

But after all, Sir, where is the injury? You assure me that my logic is puerile and tinsel; that it carries not the least weight or conviction; that my premises are false, and my conclusions absurd. If this be a just description of me, how is it possible for such a writer to disturb your peace of mind, or injure a character so well established as your's? Take care, Sir William, how you indulge this unruly temper, lest the world should suspect, that conscience has some share in your resentments. You have more to fear from the
treachery

treachery of your own passions, than from any malevolence of mine.

I believe, Sir, you will never know me. A considerable time must certainly elapse before we are personally acquainted. You need not, however, regret the delay, or suffer an apprehension that any length of time can restore you to the christian meekness of your temper, and disappoint your present indignation. If I understand your character, there is in your own breast a repository, in which your resentments may be safely laid up for future occasions, and preserved without hazard of diminution. The *Odia in longum jaciens, quæ reconderet, auctaque promeret*, I thought had only belonged to the worst character of antiquity. The text is in Tacitus ; —you know best where to look for the commentary.

JUNIUS.

*Letter to the Duke of G——n on pardoning
M^rQuirk.*

MY LORD,

March 18, 1769.

BEFORE you were placed at the head of affairs, it had been a maxim of the English government, not unwillingly admitted by the people, that every ungracious or severe exertion of the prerogative should be placed to the account of the minister ; but that whenever an act of grace or benevolence was to be performed, the whole merit of it should be attributed to the Sovereign himself. It was a wise doctrine, my lord, and equally advantageous to the king and to his
M subjects ;

subjects; for while it preserved that suspicious attention, with which the people ought always to examine the conduct of ministers, it tended at the same time rather to increase than to diminish their attachment to the person of their sovereign.—

If there be a fatality attending every measure you are concerned in, by what treachery, or by what excess of folly has it happened, that those ungracious acts, which have distinguished your administration, and which I doubt not, were entirely your own, should carry with them a strong appearance of personal interest, and even of personal enmity in a quarter, where no such interest or enmity can be supposed to exist, without the highest injustice and the highest dishonour? On the other hand, by what judicious management have you contrived it, that the only act of mercy, to which you ever advised your ———, far from adding to the lustre of a character truly gracious and benevolent, should be received with universal disapprobation and disgust? I shall consider it as a ministerial measure, because it is an odious one, and as your measure, my Lord D—e, because you are the minister.

As long as the trial of this chairman was depending, it was natural enough that government should give him every possible encouragement and support. The honourable service, for which he was hired, and the spirit with which he performed it, made a common cause between your G—— and him. The M——, who by secret corruption invades the freedom of elections, and the ruffian, who by open violence destroys that freedom, are embarked in the same bottom. They have the same interests, and mutually feel for each other. To do justice to your G——'s humanity, you felt

felt for M^r Quirk as you ought to do, and if you had been contented to assist him indirectly, without a notorious denial of justice, or openly insulting the sense of the nation, you might have satisfied every duty of political friendship without committing the honour of your —, or hazarding the reputation of his government. But when this unhappy man had been solemnly tried, convicted and condemned ;—when it appeared that he had been frequently employed in the same services, and that no excuse for him could be drawn either from the innocence of his former life, or the simplicity of his character, was it not hazarding too much to interpose the strength of the prerogative between this felon and the justice of his country? You ought to have known that an example of this sort was never so necessary as at present ; and certainly, you must have known that the lot could not have fallen upon a more guilty object. What system of government is this? You are perpetually complaining of the riotous disposition of the lower class of people, yet when the laws have given you the means of making an example, in every sense unexceptionable, and by far the most likely to awe the multitude, you pardon the offence, and are not ashamed to give the sanction of government to the riots you complain of, and even to future murders. You are partial perhaps to the military mode of execution, and had rather see a score of these wretches butchered by the guards, than one of them suffer death by the regular course of law. How does it happen, my L——, that in *your* hands, even the mercy of the p——e is cruelty and oppression to the subject?

The measure it seems was so extraordinary, that you thought it necessary to give some reasons for it to the public. Let them be fairly examined.

1. You say *that Messrs. Bromfield and Starling were not examined at M^r Quirk's Trial*. I will tell your G—— why they were not. They must have been examined upon oath; and it was foreseen that their evidence would either not benefit, or might be prejudicial to the prisoner. Otherwise is it conceivable that his counsel should neglect to call in such material evidence?

2. You say *that Mr Foot did not see the deceased until after his death*. A surgeon, my L—, must know very little of his profession, if, upon examining a wound or contusion, he cannot determine whether it was mortal or not.—While the party is alive, a surgeon will be cautious of pronouncing; whereas, by the death of the patient, he is enabled to consider both cause and effect in one view, and to speak with a certainty confirmed by experience.

Yet we are to thank your Grace for the establishment of a new tribunal. Your *Inquisitio post mortem* is unknown to the laws of England, and does honour to your invention. The only material objection to it is, that if Mr Foote's evidence was insufficient, because he did not examine the wound till after the death of the party, much less can a negative opinion, given by gentlemen, who never saw the body of Mr. Clarke, either before or after his decease, authorise you to supersede the verdict of a jury, and the sentence of the laws.

Now, my Lord, let me ask you, has it never occurred to your Grace, while you were withdrawing

drawing this desperate wretch from that justice, which the laws had awarded, and which the whole people of England demanded against him, that there is another man, who is the favourite of his country, whose pardon would have been accepted with gratitude, whose pardon would have healed all our divisions? Have you quite forgotten that this man was once your Grace's friend? Or is it to m——s only that you will extend the mercy of the C—n?

These are questions you will not answer. Nor is it necessary. The character of your private life, and the uniform tenour of your public conduct, is an answer to them all.

JUNIUS.

A M O N O D Y ; *

Or the Tears of Sedition on the Death of JUNIUS.

Quis tibi Silure furor?

AND are those periods fill'd with tuneful
care,

Those thoughts which gleam'd with Ciceronian
ore,

Are they, my *Junius*, pass'd like vulgar air,

Droop'd is thy plume, to rise on fame no more?

Thy

* This little piece produced the following remarkable explanations:

THE Monody on the supposed death of *Junius* is not the less poetical for being founded on a fiction. In some parts of it, there is a promise of genius, which deserves to be encouraged. My letter of Monday will, I hope, convince the author that I am neither a partisan of Mr. Wilkes, nor yet bought

Thy plume !— it was the harp of song in prose :

Oft have its numbers sooth'd the felon's ear,

Oft to its tune my Wilkite heroes rose

With couch'd tobacco pipes in act to spear.

Where

bought off by the ministry. It is true I have refused offers, which a more prudent or a more interested man would have accepted. Whether it be simplicity or virtue in me, I can only affirm that *I am in earnest*; because I am convinced, as far as my understanding is capable of judging, that the present ministry is driving this country to destruction; and you, I think, Sir, may be satisfied that my rank and fortune place me above a common bribe.

JUNIUS.

A CARD to JUNIUS.

POETIKASTOS presents his compliments to Junius, and is glad to understand from so celebrated a judge of the beautiful and sublime, that there is "a promise of genius" in his Monody. He could wish that it were in his power, either as a man of taste or honour, to pay *Junius* any return of praise: As the motive and manner of the Essayist deprive *Poetikastos* of this power, he must take the liberty of cautioning him never to expose himself so far again, as to make a line of doggrel the supposed cause of announcing his fictitious importance to the public.

If *Junius* dares to be *sincere*, instead of being *in earnest*, let him point out the destruction to which the ministers are driving this country, in a more rational and gentleman-like manner than that ill-bred and cowardly method in which he would stain the personal honour of the minister, without being able to detract from the propriety of his measures.

Let him not *hint* at the offers, which he had not the *prudence* to accept,—let him publish them particularly and expressly. Let him not ask for an *uncommon* bribe on account of a supposed rank and fortune, or assert, in childish terms, that he is *not* a partisan of Mr. Wilkes, but let the spirit of his writing shew, that he is neither a hungry traducer of the merits of character, nor the hireling of the most contemptible of parties.

Poetikastos will then, and not 'till then, have so favourable an idea of *Junius*, as to give him some credit—he will perhaps offer him some more poetical compositions, and be desirous of a personal acquaintance with a reformed or undeceived imitator of a TULLY.

Where now shall stormy *Codius* and his crew,
 My dear assembly to the midnight hour,
 Ah! where acquire a trumpeter!—since you
 No more shall rouse them with your classic
 power.

Accurs'd * *Silurus*! blasted be thy wing!
 That grey Scotch wing which led the unerring
 dart!

In virtue's cause could all that's satire sting
 A bosom with corruption's poison fraught?

Impossible!—then hear me, fiends of Hell,
 This dark event, this mystery unfold;
 Poison'd was *Junius*? No; “Alas, he fell
 “Midst arrows dipp'd in ministerial gold.”

Then hear me, rioters, of my command,
 Condemn the villain to a traitor's doom;
 Let none but faithful knaves adorn my band;
 Go, sink this character into his tomb.

Here sunk an essayist of dubious name,
 Whose tinsel'd page on airy cadence run,
 Friendless, with party—noted, without fame,
 Virtue and vice disclaim'd him as a son.

POETIKASTOS.

* A writer in opposition to *Junius*.

To his Grace the Duke of G——n.

MY LORD, April 10, 1769.

I Have so good an opinion of your Grace's discernment, that when the author of the vindication * of your conduct assures us, that he writes from his own mere motion, without the least

* A pamphlet entitled, *A Vindication of the Duke of G—; in answer to Junius's Letter of March 18.*

least authority from your Grace, I should be ready enough to believe him, but for one fatal mark, which seems to be fixed upon every measure, in which either your personal or your political character is concerned.—Your first attempt to support Sir William Proctor ended in the election of Mr. Wilkes; the second ensured success to Mr. Glynn. The extraordinary step you took to make Sir James Lowther Lord-Paramount of Cumberland, has ruined his interest in that county for ever. The House List of Directors was cursed with the concurrence of government; and even the miserable D——y could not escape the misfortunes of your Grace's protection. With this uniform experience before us, we are authorised to suspect, that when a pretended vindication of your principles and conduct in reality contains the bitterest reflections upon both, it could not have been written without your immediate direction and assistance. The author, indeed, calls God to witness for him, with all the sincerity, and in the very terms of an Irish evidence, *to the best of his knowledge and belief*. My Lord, you should not encourage these appeals to heaven. The pious prince, from whom you are supposed to descend, made such frequent use of them in his public declarations, that at last the people also found it necessary to appeal to heaven in their turn. Your administration has driven us into circumstances of equal distress; —beware, at least, how you remind us of the remedy.

You have already much to answer for. You have provoked this unhappy gentleman to play the fool once more in public life, in spite of his years and infirmities, and to shew us that, as you
yourself

yourself are a singular instance of youth without spirit, the man, who defends you, is a no less remarkable example of age without the benefit of experience. To follow such a writer minutely would, like his own periods, be a labour without end. The subject too has been already discussed, and is sufficiently understood. I cannot help observing, however, that, when the pardon of M'Quirk was the principal charge against you, it would have been but a decent compliment to your Grace's understanding, to have defended you upon your own principles. What credit does a man deserve, who tells us plainly, that the facts set forth in the King's proclamation were not the true motives on which the pardon was granted, and that he wishes that those surgical reports, which first gave occasion to certain doubts in the royal breast, had not been laid before his majesty. You see, my Lord, that even your friends cannot defend your actions, without changing your principles, nor justify a deliberate measure of government. without contradicting the main assertion on which it was founded.

The conviction of M'Quirk had reduced you to a dilemma, in which it was hardly possible for you to reconcile your political interest with your duty. You were obliged either to abandon an active useful partisan, or to protect a felon from public justice. With your usual spirit, you preferred your interest to every other consideration; and with your usual judgment, you founded your determination upon the only motives, which should not have been given to the public.

I have frequently censured Mr. Wilkes's conduct, yet your advocate reproaches me with having devoted myself to the service of sedition.

N

Your

Your Grace can best inform us, for which of Mr. Wilkes's good qualities you first honoured him with your friendship, or how long it was before you discovered those bad ones in him, at which, it seems, your delicacy was offended. Remember, my Lord, that you continued your connection with Mr. Wilkes long after he had been convicted of those crimes, which you have since taken pains to represent in the blackest colours of blasphemy and treason. How unlucky is it, that the first instance you have given us of a scrupulous regard to decorum is united with the breach of a moral obligation! For my own part, my Lord, I am proud to affirm, that, if I had been weak enough to form such a friendship, I would never have been base enough to betray it. But let Mr. Wilkes's character be what it may, this at least is certain, that, circumstanced as he is with regard to the public, even his vices plead for him. The people of England have too much discernment to suffer your Grace to take advantage of the failings of a private character, to establish a precedent, by which the public liberty is affected, and which you may hereafter, with equal ease and satisfaction, employ to the ruin of the best men in the kingdom.—Content yourself, my Lord, with the many advantages, which the unfulled purity of your own character has given you over your unhappy deserted friend. Avail yourself of all the unforgiving piety of the court you live in, and bless God that you “are not as other men are; extortioners, unjust, adulterers, or even as this Publican.” In a heart void of feeling, the laws of honour and good faith may be violated with impunity, and there you may safely indulge your
genius.

genius. But the laws of England shall not be violated, even by your holy zeal to oppress a sinner; and though you have succeeded in making him the tool, you shall not make him the victim of your ambition.

JUNIUS.

An Answer to the preceding Letter. By a Volunteer in the Government Service; author of the Vindication of the D— of G—.*

To the Duke of G—.

Should I be so unlucky, not to have defended your Grace on your own principles, it should not be for mine, but for your own, and the public's sake, that I should be sorry. But this pretension of Master *Junius* is too fallacious to be dwelt upon; and I shall trust to the steadiness of your Grace's public conduct, to give him the lie in this respect. In the mean while I shall do so here, in vindication of my own veracity, and to clear myself of his false and impudent assertion

* A writer, who signs *Crito*, charges *this Volunteer* with being a privy counsellor in Ireland, writer of the G—te, Comptroller of the S—l-Office, a clerk of the S—t, and a pensioner on the Irish establishment; and adds, that when he was Under Secretary of State, the division of 500l. among ten people was left to his discretion, 400l. of which he modestly claimed for his own share. Such is this Volunteer! The Volunteer, to this charge, confesses that he knows Mr. W—n, but declares upon *his honour*, that the Right Hon. Mr. W—n has never had the least share in, or knowledge of this vindication of the D. of Grafton; and as to his claim of 400l. out of 500l. he is sure it must be a downright lye, or a gross misrepresentation.

of my having told plainly, “ that the facts set forth in the king’s proclamation were not the true motives on which the pardon was granted.” To say that I have directly or indirectly told this, is as gross a lye as he or any man ever uttered. I have indeed told the public, and I repeat it here, that I could not but regret that the E. of Rochford, whether with, or without the concurrence of his co-ministers, seemed to have thought proper to lay the chirurgical reports before the king in preference to all the other sufficient motives that were alledged, and were, or might have been suggested to his majesty in behalf of the pardoned convict. But this implies in the fullest manner, that the pardon was granted by the king, in consequence of those reports, as it is set forth in the proclamation. And as to the consequence which *Junius* draws from his lye, the latter part vanishes with it, and the other shews him to be as void of logic as of truth; for what has the *mode* of an action to do with its *principle*. I suppose for a moment that your Grace had a mind, from a due regard to justice and to the public safety, to get this *Junius* punished according to his desert, would it change your principle, Whether you thought proper to have it done by a horse-whip, by an axe, or by an halter? No more, I hope, my Lord Duke, could it change the principle of justice and humanity, on which you advised the pardon of M^r Quirk, whether it was done with laying before the king any other circumstance which pleaded in his favour, or that of the chirurgical opinions and reports.

To

*To this, a Reply come forth, addressed to Mr.
Edward Weston.*

S I R,

April 21, 1769.

I SAID you were an old man without the benefit of experience. It seems you are also a volunteer with the stipend of twenty commissions; and at a period when all prospects are at an end, you are still looking forward to rewards, which you cannot enjoy. No man is better acquainted with the bounty of government than you are,

—ton impudence,
Temeraire vieillard aura sa recompense.

But I will not descend to an altercation either with the impotence of your age, or the peevishness of your diseases. Your pamphlet, ingenious as it is, has been so little read, that the public cannot know how far you have a right to give me the lye, without the following citation of your own words :

- Page 6—‘ 1. That he is persuaded that the
‘ motives, which he (Mr. Weston) has alledged,
‘ must appear fully sufficient, with or without
‘ the opinions of the surgeons.
‘ 2. That those very motives MUST HAVE
‘ BEEN the foundation, on which the Earl of
‘ Rochford thought proper, &c.
‘ 3. That he CANNOT BUT REGRET that the
‘ Earl of Rochford seems to have thought proper
‘ to lay the chirurgical reports before the King,
‘ in

‘ in preference to all the other sufficient motives,’ &c.

Let the public determine whether this be defending government on their principles or your own.

The stile and language you have adopted are, I confess, not ill suited to the elegance of your own manners, or to the dignity of the cause you have undertaken. Every common dawber writes rascal and villain under his pictures, because the pictures themselves have neither character nor resemblance. But the works of a master require no index. His features and colouring are taken from nature. The impression they make is immediate and uniform; nor is it possible to mistake his characters, whether they represent the treachery of a minister, or the abused simplicity of a —.

JUN IUS.



To his Grace the D—— of G——.

MY LORD,

April 24, 1769.

THE system you seemed to have adopted, when Lord C——m unexpectedly left you at the head of affairs, gave us no promise of that uncommon exertion of vigour, which has since illustrated your character and distinguished your administration. Far from discovering a spirit bold enough to invade the first rights of the people, and the first principles of the constitution, you were scrupulous of exercising even those powers, with which the executive branch of the legislature is legally invested. We have not yet forgotten

forgotten how long Mr. Wilkes was suffered to appear at large, nor how long he was at liberty to convalesce for the city and county, with all the terrors of an outlawry hanging over him. Our gracious sovereign has not yet forgotten the extraordinary care you took of his dignity and of the safety of his person, when, at a crisis which courtiers affected to call alarming, you left the metropolis exposed for two nights together, to every species of riot and disorder. The security of the royal residence from insult was then sufficiently provided for in Mr. C—w—y's firmness, and Lord W——th's discretion; while the prime minister of Great Britain, in a rural retirement, and in the arms of a faded beauty, had lost all memory of his Sovereign, his country, and himself. In these instances you might have acted with vigour, for you would have had the sanction of the laws to support you. The friends of government might have defended you without shame, and moderate men, who wish well to the peace and good order of society, might have had a pretence for applauding your conduct. But these it seems were not occasions worthy of your Grace's interposition. You reserved the proofs of your intrepid spirit for trials of greater hazard and importance; and now, as if the most disgraceful relaxation of the executive authority had given you a claim of credit to indulge in excesses still more dangerous, you seem determined to compensate amply for your former negligence; and to balance the non-execution of the laws with a breach of the constitution. From one extreme you suddenly start to the other, without leaving, between the weakness and fury of the passions, one moment's interval for the firmness of the understanding.

These

These observations, general as they are, might easily be extended into a faithful history of your grace's administration, and perhaps may be the employment of a future hour. But the business of the present moment will not suffer me to look back to a series of events, which cease to be interesting or important, because they are succeeded by a measure so singularly daring, that it excites all our attention and engrosses all our resentment.

Your patronage of Mr. Luttrell has been crowned with success. With this precedent before you, with the principles of which it was established, and with a future house of commons, perhaps less virtuous than the present, every county in England, under the auspices of the treasury, may be represented as completely as the county of Middlesex. Posterity will be indebted to your grace for not contenting yourself with a temporary expedient, but entailing upon them the immediate blessings of your administration. Boroughs were already too much at the mercy of government. Counties could neither be purchased nor intimidated. But their solemn determined election may be rejected, and the man they detest may be appointed, by another choice, to represent them in parliament. Yet it is admitted that the sheriffs obeyed the laws and performed their duty. The return they made must have been legal and valid, or undoubtedly they would have been censured for making it. With every good-natured allowance for your grace's youth and inexperience, there are some things which you cannot but know. You cannot but know that the right of the freeholders to adhere to their choice (even supposing it improperly exerted) was as clear and indisputable as that of the house of commons to
exclude

exclude one of their own members ;——nor is it possible for you not to see the wide distance there is between the negative power of rejecting one man, and the positive power of appointing another. The right of expulsion, in the most favourable sense, is no more than the custom of parliament. The right of election is the very essence of the constitution. To violate that right, and much more to transfer it to any other set of men, is a step leading immediately to the dissolution of all government. So far forth as it operates, it constitutes a house of commons, which does not represent the people. A house of commons so formed, would involve a contradiction and the grossest confusion of ideas ; but there are some ministers, my lord, whose views can only be answered by reconciling absurdities, and making the same proposition, which is false and absurd in argument, true in fact*.

This

* The following sensible paper, by another writer, contains a further illustration of this interesting subject.

To the Freeholders of England, &c.

Gentlemen,

THE contest between the freeholders of Middlesex and the H—— of C—— is truly constitutional, it relates immediately to the rights of freeholders and the privileges of parliament. A question of such a nature, and of such importance, cannot be treated with too much attention. On the one side are the freeholders of the first county in England, and on the other, the respectable body of the H—— of C——.

The freeholders of Middlesex think they have a right, as freeholders, to chuse whom they please to be their representative in parliament, not disqualified by law. The H—— of C—— think they have a right to expel from their body any person (though not disqualified by law) who appears to them unworthy a seat in that house.

This I take to be the true, the exact point in contest between the freeholders of Middlesex and the H—— of C——. I

O

will

This measure, my lord, is however attended with one consequence, favour to the people, which I am persuaded you did not foresee. While the contest lay between the ministry and Mr. Wilkes, his situation and private character gave you advantages over him, which common candour, if not

will not suppose any thing to the disadvantage of either. I will suppose each side to be influenced only by good motives, and to be actuated only by equitable views. The freeholders in pursuit of their rights, and the Commons in support of their privileges, and for a moment that they are alike open to conviction.

I only wish I were better qualified to write on this question than I am. I think it however my duty to give my opinion, and to give it with all the clearness and perspicuity I am able.

Were the H— of C— a *voluntary* society, a society which formed itself, it could not admit a doubt but that like all other such societies, they would have a right to receive or expel just whom they pleased; but this is not the constitution of the H— of C—, the H— of C— is not a voluntary society whose powers are derived from itself; it is an elected society only, and invested only with a delegated power. The question then is, from whence or from whom do the H— of C— derive to themselves the privilege of expelling the member they disapprove? They do not derive it from themselves, for they are not a voluntary society. If they be possessed of this privilege, it must have been delegated to them; but who did ever delegate to them such a power? Did the Freeholders of York ever delegate to their representatives a right of sitting in judgment upon the just and legal return of the county of Devon?

Suppose all the freeholders in the kingdom, except those of a single county, to be of opinion that A. B. is not worthy of a seat in parliament, but that the freeholders of one county are of opinion that he is, I should be glad to know, whether the freeholders of that county ever delegated to the other freeholders any right or power to put a negative upon their choice? It is absurd to suppose that such a power could ever be delegated, or that it ever could exist; and if such a power does not exist even in freeholders themselves, much less can it ever exist with those whose power is derived only from their delegation.

It

not the memory of your former friendship, should have forbidden you to make use of. To religious men, you had an opportunity of exaggerating the irregularities of his past life;—to moderate men you held forth the pernicious consequences of faction. Men, who with this character looked no farther than to the object before them, were not dissatisfied at seeing Mr. Wilkes excluded

It appears to me that the right of the people to chuse their representatives, and the right of the crown to create peers, are very similar. The crown may create any Englishman, being a protestant, and taking the oaths prescribed by law, a peer of the realm, and delegate to him a right to a seat and vote in the House of Lords: And the people legally intitled to vote, may chuse any man to be their representative in parliament who is duly qualified according to law.

Were a peerage to be conferred on a papist, or on one who refuses to take the oaths which the law requires, the Lords would be justified in refusing to admit him to a seat in their House: but if no legal objection can be urged against him, the Lords I apprehend have no right to urge any other, but must admit him.

In like manner, were the freeholders of any county to chuse a person to be their representative in parliament, not qualified according to law, the Commons in that case certainly have a right to reject him, or rather they have no right to admit him among them; but if the freeholders chuse a person properly qualified according to law, let his private or general character be what it will, I apprehend the C--- have no more right to refuse him his seat in their House, than the Lords have to refuse a peer created by the king his seat in theirs.

The king only, by the constitution and laws of England, can confer a right to a seat in the House of Lords, the people only to a seat in the House of Commons: And supposing no legal incapacity belonging either to the new-created peer or the new-elected burghers or knight of the Shire, I do apprehend, neither the L--- or C--- have, from the constitution, the least right to object to the choice, and much less to set it aside.

I may indeed be mistaken in this opinion, but if they have such a right, it then follows the king cannot create a peer, nor the people chuse their own representatives.

L. T.

from parliament. You have now taken care to shift the question ; or rather you have created a new one, in which Mr. Wilkes is no more concerned than any other English gentleman. You have united this country against you on one grand constitutional point, on the decision of which our existence, as a free people, absolutely depends. You have asserted, not in words but in fact, that representation in parliament does not depend on the choice of the freeholders. If such a case can possibly happen once, it may happen frequently ; it may happen always ;—and if three hundred votes, by any mode of reasoning whatsoever, can prevail against twelve hundred, the same reasoning would equally have given Mr. Luttrell his seat with ten votes, or even with one. The consequences of this attack upon the constitution are too plain and palpable not to alarm the dullest apprehension. I trust you will find that the people of England are neither deficient in spirit nor understanding, though you have treated them, as if they had neither sense to feel, nor spirit to resent. We have reason to thank God and our ancestors, that there never yet was a minister in this country who could stand the issue of such a conflict ; and with every prejudice in favour of your attentions, I see no such abilities in your Grace, as should entitle you to succeed in an enterprize, in which the ablest and basest of your predecessors have found their destruction. You may continue to deceive your gracious master with false representations of the temper and condition of his subjects. You may command a venal vote, because it is the common established appendage of your office. But never hope that the freeholders will make a tame surrender of their rights, or that an
English

English army will join with you in overturning the liberties of their country. They know that their first duty, as citizens, is paramount to all subsequent engagements, nor will they prefer the discipline, or even the honours of their profession to those sacred original rights, which belonged to them before they were soldiers, and which they claim and possess as the birth-rights of Englishmen.

Return, my Lord, before it be too late, to that easy insipid system, which you first set out with. Take back your mistress;—the name of friend may be fatal to her, for it leads to treachery and persecution. Indulge the people. Attend Newmarket. Mr. Luttrell may again vacate his seat; and Mr. Wilkes, if not persecuted, will soon be forgotten. To be weak and inactive is safer than to be daring and criminal; and wide is the distance between a riot of the populace and a convulsion of the whole kingdom. You may live to make the experiment, but no honest man can wish you should survive it.

JUNIOUS.

To the Same.

MY LORD,

IF the measures in which you have been most successful, had been supported by any tolerable appearance of argument, I should have thought my time not ill employed, in continuing to examine your conduct as a minister, and stating it fairly to the public: but when I see questions
of

of the highest national importance carried as they have been, and the first principles of the constitution openly violated, without argument or decency, I confess, I give up the cause in despair. The meanest of your predecessors had abilities sufficient to give a colour to their measures. If they invaded the rights of the people, they did not dare to offer a direct insult to their understanding; and, in former times, the most venal parliaments made it a condition, in their bargain with the minister, that he should furnish them with some plausible pretences for selling their country and themselves. You have had the merit of introducing a more compendious system of government and logic. You neither address yourself to the passions nor to the understanding, but simply to the touch. You apply yourself immediately to the feelings of your friends, who, contrary to the forms of parliament, never enter heartily into a debate, until they have divided.

Relinquishing, therefore, all idle views of amendment to your Grace, or of benefit to the public, let me be permitted to consider your character and conduct merely as a subject of curious speculation.—There is something in both, which distinguishes you not only from all other ministers, but all other men. It is not that you do wrong by design, but that you should never do right by mistake. It is not that your indolence and your activity have been equally misapplied, but that the first uniform principle, or, if I may so call it, the genius of your life, should have carried you through every possible change and contradiction of conduct, without the momentary imputation or colour of a virtue; and that the wild-
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est spirit of inconsistency should never once have betrayed you into a wise or honourable action. This, I own, gives an air of singularity to your fortune, as well as to your disposition. Let us look back together to a scene, in which a mind like your's will find nothing to repent of. Let us try, my Lord, how well you have supported the various relations in which you stood, to your Sovereign, your country, your friends, and yourself. Give us, if it be possible, some excuse to posterity, and to ourselves, for submitting to your administration. If not the abilities of a great minister, if not the integrity of a patriot, or the fidelity of a friend, shew us, at least, the firmness of a man.—For the sake of your mistress, the lover shall be spared. I will not lead her into public, as you have done, nor will I insult the memory of departed beauty. Her sex, which alone made her amiable in your eyes, makes her respectable in mine.

The character of the reputed ancestors of some men has made it possible for their descendants to be vicious in the extreme, without being degenerate. Those of your Grace, for instance, left no distressing examples of virtue, even to their legitimate posterity, and you may look back with pleasure to an illustrious pedigree, in which heraldry has not left a single good quality upon record to insult or upbraid you. You have better proofs of your descent, my Lord, than the register of a marriage, or any troublesome inheritance of reputation. There are some hereditary strokes of character, by which a family may be as clearly distinguished as by the blackest features in the human face. Charles the First, lived and died a hypocrite.

hypocrite. Charles the Second was a hypocrite of another sort, and should have died upon the same scaffold. At the distance of a century, we see their different characters happily revived and blended in your Grace. Sullen and severe, without religion, profligate without gaiety, you live like Charles the Second, without being an amiable companion, and, for ought I know, may die as his father did, without the reputation of a martyr.

You had already taken your degrees with credit in those schools, in which the English nobility are formed to virtue, when you were introduced to Lord Chatham's protection. From Newmarket, White's, and the Opposition, he gave you to the world with an air of popularity, which young men usually set out with, and seldom preserve; grave and plausible enough to be thought fit for business, too young for treachery, and, in short, a patriot of no unpromising expectations. Lord Chatham was the earliest object of your political wonder and attachment; yet you deserted him, upon the first hopes that offered of an equal share of power with Lord Rockingham.—When the Duke of Cumberland's first negotiation failed, and when the Favourite was pushed to the last extremity, you saved him, by joining with an administration, in which Lord Chatham had refused to engage. Still, however, he was your friend, and you are yet to explain to the world, why you consented to act without him, or why, after uniting with Lord Rockingham, you deserted and betrayed him. You complained that no measures were taken to satisfy your patron, and that your friend, Mr. Wilkes, who had suffered so
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much for the party, had been abandoned to his fate. They have since contributed, not a little, to your present plenitude of power ; yet, I think Lord Chatham has less reason than ever to be satisfied ; and as for Mr. Wilkes, it is, perhaps, the greatest misfortune of his life, that you should have so many compensations to make in the closet for your former friendship with him. Your gracious master understands your character, and makes you a persecutor, because you have been a friend.

Lord Chatham formed his last administration upon principles which you certainly concurred in, or you could never have been placed at the head of the Treasury. By deserting those principles, and by acting in direct contradiction to them, in which, he found, you were secretly supported in the closet, you soon forced him to leave you to yourself, and to withdraw his name from an administration, which had been formed on the credit of it. You had then a prospect of friendships better suited to your genius, and more likely to fix your disposition. Marriage is the point on which every rake is stationary at last ; and truly, my Lord, you may well be weary of the circuit you have taken, for you have now fairly travelled thro' every sign in the political Zodiac, from the Scorpion, in which you stung Lord Chatham, to the hopes of a virgin in the house of Bl——f——y. One would think that you had had sufficient experience of the frailty of nuptial engagements, or, at least, that such a friendship as the Duke of B———d's might have been secured to you by the auspicious marriage of your late D———s with his nephew. But ties of this tender nature

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cannot be drawn too close ; and it may possibly be a part of the D—— of B—f—d's ambition, after making *her* an honest women, to work a miracle of the same sort upon your G——. This worthy nobleman has long dealt in virtue. There has been a large consumption of it in his own family ; and, in the way of traffick, I dare say, he has bought and sold more than half the representative integrity of the nation.

In a political view, this union is not imprudent. The favour of princes is a perishable commodity. You have now a strength sufficient to command the closet ; and if it be necessary to betray one friendship more, you may set even Lord Bute at defiance. Mr. Stuart Mackenzie may possibly remember what use the D—— of B—f—d usually makes of his power, and our gracious Sovereign, I doubt not, rejoices at this first appearance of union among his servants. His late Majesty, under the happy influence of a family connection between his ministers, was relieved from the cares of government. A more active prince may perhaps observe with suspicion, by what degrees an artful servant grows upon his master from the first unlimited professions of duty and attachment to the painful representation of necessity of the royal service, and soon, in regular progression, to the humble insolence of dictating in all the obsequious forms of peremptory submission. The interval is carefully employed in forming connections, creating interests, collecting a party and laying the foundation of double marriages, until the deluded prince, who thought he had found a creature prostituted to his service, and insignificant enough to be always dependent upon his pleasure,

pleasure, finds him at last too strong to be commanded, and too formidable to be removed.

Your Grace's public conduct, as a minister, is but the counter-part of your private history, the same inconsistency, the same contradictions. In America we trace you, from the first opposition to the Stamp Act, on principles of convenience, to Mr. Pitt's surrender of the right; then forward to Lord Rockingham's surrender of the fact; then back again to Lord Rockingham's declaration of the right; then forward to taxation with Mr. Townshend; and in the last instance, from the gentle Conway's undetermined discretion, to blood and compulsion with the D— of B—f—d: Yet if we may believe the simplicity of Lord North's eloquence, at the opening of next sessions you are once more to be patron of America. Is this the wisdom of a great Minister? or is it the vibration of a pendulum? Had you no opinion of your own, my Lord? or was it the gratification of betraying every party with which you had been united, and of deserting every political principle in which you had concurred.

Your enemies may turn their eyes without regret from this admirable system of provincial government: They will find gratification enough in the survey of your domestic and foreign policy.

If, instead of disowning with Lord Shelburne, the British court had interposed with dignity and firmness, you know, my Lord, that Corsica would never have been invaded. The French saw the weakness of a distracted ministry, and were justified in treating you with contempt. They would probably have yielded in the first instance rather than hazard a rupture with this country;

but being once engaged, they cannot retreat without dishonour. Common sense foresees consequences which have escaped your Grace's penetration. Either we suffer the French to make an acquisition, the importance of which you have probably no conception of, or we oppose them by an underhand management, which only disgraces us in the eyes of Europe, without answering any purpose of policy or prudence. From secret, indiscreet assistance, a transition to some more open decisive measures becomes unavoidable, till at last we find ourselves principals in the war, and are obliged to hazard every thing for an object which might originally be obtained without expence or danger. I am not versed in the politics of the north; but this I believe is certain, that half the money you have distributed to carry the expulsion of Mr. Wilkes, or even your Secretary's share in the last subscription, would have kept the Turks at your devotion. Was it œconomy, my Lord? or did the coy resistance you have constantly met with in the British Senate make you despair of corrupting the Divan? Your friends indeed have the first claim upon your bounty, but if five hundred pounds a year can be spared in pension to Sir John Moore, it would not have disgraced you to have allowed something to the secret service of the public.

You will say perhaps that the situation of affairs at home demanded and engrossed the whole of your attention. Here, I confess, you have been active. An amiable, accomplished prince ascends to the throne under the happiest of all auspices, the acclamations and united affections of his subjects. The first measures of his reign, and even the odium of a favourite were not able to shake
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their attachments. *Your* services, my Lord, have been more successful. Since you were permitted to take the lead, we have seen the natural effects of a system of government at once both odious and contemptible. We have seen the laws sometimes scandalously relaxed, sometimes violently stretched beyond their tone. We have seen the sacred person of the Sovereign insulted; and in profound peace, and with an undisputed title, the fidelity of his subjects brought by his own servants into public question. Without abilities, resolution, or interest, you have done more than Lord Bute could accomplish with all Scotland at at his heels.

Your Grace, little anxious perhaps either for present or future reputation, will not desire to be handed down in these colours to posterity. You have reason to flatter yourself that the memory of your administration will survive even the forms of a constitution, which our ancestors vainly hoped would be immortal; and as for your personal character, I will not, for the honour of human nature, suppose that you can wish to have it remembered. The condition of the present times is desperate indeed; but there is a debt due to those who come after us, and it is the Historian's office to punish, tho' he cannot correct. I do not give you to posterity as a pattern to imitate, but as an example to deter; and as your conduct comprehends every thing that a wise or honest minister should avoid, I mean to make you a negative instruction to your successors for ever.

JUNIUS.

To

To the Same.

My LORD,

July 8, 1769.

IF nature had given you an understanding qualified to keep pace with the wishes and principles of your heart, she would have made you, perhaps, the most formidable minister that ever was employed, under a limited monarch, to accomplish the ruin of a free people. When neither the feelings of shame, the reproaches of conscience, nor the dread of punishment, form any bar to the designs of a minister, the people would have too much reason to lament their condition, if they did not find some resource in the weakness of his understanding. We owe it to the bounty of Providence, that the compleatest depravity of the heart is sometimes strangely united with a confusion of the mind, which counteracts the most-favourite principles, and makes the same man treacherous without art, and a hypocrite without deceiving. The measures, for instance, in which your Grace's activity has been chiefly exerted, as they were adopted without skill, should have been conducted with more than common dexterity. But truly, my Lord, the execution has been as gross as the design. By one decisive step, you have defeated all the arts of writing. You have fairly confounded the intrigues of opposition, and silenced the clamours of faction. A dark ambiguous system might require and furnish the materials of ingenious illustration, and,
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in doubtful measures, the virulent exaggeration of party must be employed, to rouse and engage the passions of the people. You have now brought the merits of your administration to an issue, on which every Englishman, of the narrowest capacity, may determine for himself. It is not an alarm to the passions, but a calm appeal to the judgment of the people upon their own most essential interests. A more experienced minister would not have hazarded a direct invasion of the first principles of the constitution, before he had made some progress in subduing the spirit of the people. With such a cause as your's, my Lord, it is not sufficient that you have the court at your devotion, unless you can find means to corrupt or intimidate the jury. The collective body of the people form that jury, and from their decision there is but one appeal.

Whether you have talents to support you, at a crisis of such difficulty and danger, should long since have been considered. Judging truly of your disposition, you have perhaps mistaken the extent of your capacity. Good faith and folly have so long been received for synonymous terms, that the reverse of the proposition has grown into credit, and every villain fancies himself a man of abilities. It is the apprehension of your friends, my Lord, that you have drawn some hasty conclusion of this sort, and that a partial reliance upon your moral character has betrayed you beyond the depth of your understanding. You have now carried things too far to retreat. You have plainly declared to the people what they are to expect from the continuance of your administration. It is time for your Grace to consider
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what you also may expect in return from *their* spirit and *their* resentment:

Since the accession of our most gracious sovereign to the throne, we have seen a system of government, which may well be called a reign of experiments. Parties of all denominations have been employed and dismissed. The advice of the ablest men in this country has been repeatedly called for and rejected; and when the royal displeasure has been signified to a minister, the marks of it have usually been proportioned to his abilities and integrity. The spirit of the FAVOURITE had some apparent influence upon every administration; and every set of ministers preserved an appearance of duration, as long as they submitted to that influence. But there were certain services to be performed for the Favourite's security, or to gratify his resentments, which your predecessors in office had the wisdom or the virtue not to undertake. The moment this refractory spirit was discovered, their disgrace was determined. Lord Chatham, Mr. Grenville, and Lord Rockingham, have successively had the honour to be dismissed, for preferring their duty, as servants of the public, to those compliances which were expected from their station. A submissive administration was at last gradually collected from the deserters of all parties, interests and connexions: and nothing remained but to find a leader for these gallant well-disciplined troops. Stand forth, my Lord, for thou art the man. Lord Bute found no resource of dependence or security in the proud imposing superiority of Lord Chatham's abilities, the shrewd inflexible judgment of Mr. Grenville, nor in the
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mild but determined integrity of Lord Rockingham. His views and situation required a creature void of all these properties; and he was forced to go through every division, resolution, composition and refinement of political chemistry, before he happily arrived at the caput mortuum of vitriol in your Grace. Flat and insipid in your retired state, but brought into action you become vitriol again. Such are the extremes of alternate indolence or fury, which have governed your whole administration. Your circumstances with regard to the people soon becoming desperate, like other honest servants, you determined to involve the best of masters in the same difficulties with yourself. We owe it to your Grace's well-directed labours, that your Sovereign has been persuaded to doubt of the affections of his subjects, and the people to suspect the virtues of their Sovereign, at a time when both were unquestionable. You have degraded the royal dignity into a base, dishonourable competition with Mr. Wilkes, nor had you abilities to carry even this last contemptible triumph over a private man, without the grossest violation of the fundamental laws of the constitution and rights of the people. But these are rights, my Lord, which you can no more annihilate than you can the soil to which they are annexed. The question no longer turns upon points of national honour and security abroad, or on the degrees of expedience and propriety of measures at home. It was not inconsistent that you should abandon the cause of liberty in another country, which you had persecuted in your own; and in the common arts of domestic corruption, we miss no

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part of Sir Robert Walpole's system, except his abilities. In this humble imitative line you might long have proceeded, safe and contemptible. You might probably never have risen to the dignity of being hated, and you might even have been despised with moderation. But it seems you meant to be distinguished, and to a mind like yours there was no other road to fame but by the d-ft--ct--on of a noble fabric, which you thought had been too long the admiration of mankind. The use you have made of the military force introduced an alarming change in the mode of executing the laws. This arbitrary appointment of Mr. Luttrell invades the foundation of the laws themselves, as it manifestly transfers the right of legislation from those whom the people have chosen, to those whom they have rejected. With a succession of such appointments, we may soon see a house of commons collected, in the choice of which the other towns and counties of England will have as little share as the devoted county of Middlesex.

Yet I trust your Grace will find that the people of this country are neither to be intimidated by violent measures, nor deceived by refinements. When they see Mr. Luttrell seated in the house of commons by mere dint of power, and in direct opposition to the choice of a whole county, they will not listen to those subtleties by which every arbitrary exertion of authority is explained into the law and privilege of parliament. It requires no persuasion of argument, but simply the evidence of the senses, to convince them, that to transfer the right of election from the collective to the representative body of the people, contradicts

dicts all those ideas of a house of commons, which they have received from their forefathers, and which they had already, though vainly perhaps, delivered to their children. The principles, on which this violent measure has been defended, have added scorn to injury, and forced us to feel, that we are not only oppressed but insulted.

With what force, my Lord, with what protection are you prepared to meet the united detestation of the people of England? The city of London has given a generous example to the kingdom in what manner a King of this country ought to be addressed; and I fancy, my Lord, it is not yet in your courage to stand between your sovereign and the addresses of his subjects. The injuries you have done this country are such as demand not only redress, but vengeance. In vain shall you look for protection to that venal vote, which you have already paid for: another must be purchased; and, to save a minister, the h— of c— must declare themselves not only independent of their constituents, but the determined enemies of the constitution. Consider, my Lord, whether this be an extremity, to which their fears will permit them to advance; or, if their protection should fail you, how far you are authorised to rely upon the sincerity of those smiles, which a pious c—t lavishes without reluctance upon a libertine by profession. It is not indeed the least of the thousand contradictions which attend you, that a man, marked to the world by the grossest violation of all ceremony and decorum, should be the first servant of a c—t, in which prayers are morality, and kneeling is religion. Trust not too far to appearances,

by which your predecessors have been deceived, though they have not been injured. Even the best of princes may at last discover that this is a contention in which every thing may be lost, but nothing can be gained; and as you became minister by accident, were adopted without choice, trusted without confidence, and continued without favour, be assured that, whenever an occasion presses, you will be disregarded without even the forms of regret. You will then have reason to be thankful, if you are permitted to retire to that seat of learning, which, in contemplation of the system of your life, the comparative purity of your manners with those of their high steward, and a thousand other recommending circumstances, has chosen you to encourage the growing virtue of their youth, and to preside over their education. Whenever the spirit of distributing prebends and bishopricks shall have departed from you, you will find that learned seminary perfectly recovered from the delirium of an installation, and, what in truth it ought to be, once more a peaceful scene of slumber and meditation. The venerable tutors of the university will no longer distress your modesty, by proposing you for a pattern to their pupils. The learned dulness of declamation will be silent; and even the venal muse, though happiest in fiction, will forget your virtues. Yet, for the benefit of the succeeding age, I could wish that your retreat might be deferred until your morals shall happily be ripened to that maturity of corruption, at which philosophers tell us, the worst examples cease to be contagious.

JUNIUS.

To

To the Printer.

S I R,

A GREAT deal of useless argument might have been saved, in the political contest, which has arisen from the expulsion of Mr. Wilkes, and the subsequent appointment of Mr. Luttrell, if the question had been once stated with precision, to the satisfaction of each party, and clearly understood by them both. But in this, as in almost every other dispute, it usually happens that much time is lost in referring to a multitude of cases and precedents, which prove nothing to the purpose, or in maintaining propositions, which are either not disputed, or, whether they be admitted or denied, are entirely indifferent as to the matter in debate ; until at last the mind, perplexed and confounded with the endless subtleties of controversy, loses sight of the main question, and never arrives at truth. Both parties in the dispute are apt enough to practise these dishonest artifices. The man who is conscious of the weakness of his cause, is interested in concealing it ; and on the other side it is not uncommon to see a good cause mangled by advocates who do not know the real strength of it.

I should be glad to know, for instance, to what purpose in the present case so many precedents have been produced to prove, that the house of commons have a right to expell one of their own members ; that it belongs to them to
judge

judge of the validity of elections; or that the law of parliament is part of the law of the land? After all these propositions are admitted, Mr. Luttrell's right to his seat will continue to be just as disputable as it was before. Not one of them is at present in agitation. Let it be admitted that the house of commons were authorized to expel Mr. Wilkes; that they are the proper court to judge of Elections; and that the law of parliament is binding upon the people; still it remains to be enquired whether the house, by their resolution in favour of Mr. Luttrell, have or have not truly declared that law. To facilitate this enquiry, I would have the question cleared of all foreign or indifferent matter. The following state of it will probably be thought a fair one by both parties; and then I imagine there is no gentleman in this country who will not be capable of forming a judicious and true opinion upon it. I take the question to be strictly this: Whether or no it be the known established law of parliament, that the expulsion of a member of the house of commons of itself creates in him such an incapacity to be re-elected, that, at a subsequent election, any votes given to him are null and void, and that any other candidate, who, except the person expelled, has the greatest number of votes, ought to be the fitting member?

To prove that the affirmative is the law of Parliament, I apprehend it is not sufficient for the present house of commons to declare it to be so. We may shut our eyes indeed to the dangerous consequences of suffering one branch of the legislature to declare new laws, without argument or example, and it may perhaps be prudent enough

enough to submit to authority ; but a mere assertion will never convince, much less will it be thought reasonable to prove the right by the fact itself. The ministry have not yet pretended to such a tyranny over our minds. To support the affirmative fairly, it will either be necessary to produce some statute in which that positive provision shall have been made, that specific disability clearly created, and the consequences of it declared ; or if there be no such statute, the custom of parliament must then be referred to, and some case or cases, strictly in point, must be produced, with the decision of the court upon them ; for I readily admit that the custom of parliament, once clearly proved, is equally binding with the common and statute law.

The consideration of what may be reasonable or unreasonable makes no part of this question. We are enquiring what the law is, not what it ought to be. Reason may be applied to shew the impropriety or expedience of a law, but we must have either statute or precedent to prove the existence of it. At the same time I do not mean to admit that the late resolution of the house of commons is defensible on general principles of reason, any more than in law. This is not the hinge on which the debate turns.

Supposing therefore that I have laid down an accurate state of the question, I will venture to affirm, 1st. That there is no statute existing by which that specific disability which we speak of is created. If there be, let it be produced. The argument will then be at an end.

2dly. That there is no precedent in all the proceedings of the house of commons, which
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comes entirely home to the present case, viz. ' where an expelled member has been returned ' again, and another candidate, with an inferior ' number of votes, has been declared the fitting ' member.' If there be such a precedent, let it be given to us plainly, and I am sure it will have more weight than all the cunning arguments which have been drawn from inferences and probabilities.

The ministry, in that laborious pamphlet which I presume contains the whole strength of the party, have declared " that Mr. Walpole's " was the first and only instance, in which the " electors of any county or borough had return- " ed a person expelled to serve in the same par- " liament." It is not possible to conceive a case more exactly in point. Mr. Walpole was expelled, and having a majority of votes at the next election, was returned again. The friends of Mr. Taylor, a candidate set up by the ministry, petitioned the house that he might be the fitting member. Thus far the circumstances tally exactly, except that our house of commons saved Mr. Luttrell the trouble of petitioning. The point of law however was the same. It came regularly before the house, and it was their business to determine upon it. They did determine it, for they declared Mr. Taylor *not duly elected*. If it be said that they meant this resolution as matter of favour and indulgence to the borough, which had retorted Mr. Walpole upon them, in order that the Burgeesses knowing what the law was, might correct their error, I answer,

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I. That it is a strange way of arguing to oppose a supposition, which no man can prove, to a fact which proves itself.

II. That if this were the intention of the house of commons, it must have defeated itself. The Burgeſſes of Lynn could never have known their error, much leſs could they have corrected it by any inſtruction they received from the proceedings of the house of commons. They might perhaps have foreſeen this, if they returned Mr. Walpole again, he would again be rejected; but they never could infer, from a resolution by which the candidate with the fewest votes was declared *not duly elected*, that, at a future election, and in ſimilar circumſtances, the house of commons would reverse their resolution, and receive the ſame candidate as duly elected, whom they had before rejected.

This indeed would have been a moſt extraordinary way of declaring the law of parliament, and what I preſume no man, whoſe underſtanding is not at croſs-purpoſes with itſelf, could poſſibly underſtand.

If in a caſe of this importance, I thought myſelf at liberty to argue from ſuppoſitions rather than from facts; I think the probability in this caſe is directly the reverse of what the miniſtry affirm; and that it is much more likely that the house of commons at that time would rather have ſtrained a point in favour of Mr. Taylor, than that they would have violated the law of parliament, and robbed Mr. Taylor of a right legally veſted in him, to gratify a refractory borough, which, in defiance of them, had returned a perſon branded with the ſtrongeſt mark of the diſpleaſure of the houſe.

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But really, Sir, this way of talking, for I cannot call it argument, is a mockery of the common understanding of the nation, too gross to be endured. Our dearest interests are at stake. An attempt has been made, not merely to rob a single county of its rights, but, by inevitable consequence, to alter the constitution of the house of commons. This fatal attempt has succeeded, and stands as a precedent recorded for ever. If the ministry are unable to defend their cause by fair argument founded on facts, let them spare us at least the mortification of being amused and deluded like children. I believe there is yet a spirit of resistance in this country, which will not submit to be oppressed; but I am sure there is a fund of good sense in this country which cannot be deceived.

JUNIUS.

To the P R I N T E R.

S I R,

THE gentleman, who has published an answer * to Sir William Meredith's pamphlet, having honoured me with a postscript of six quarto pages, which he moderately calls, bestowing very few words upon me, I cannot, in common politeness, refuse him a reply. The form and magnitude of a quarto imposes upon the mind, and men, who are unequal to the labour of discussing an intricate argument, or wish to avoid

* This pamphlet is entitled, *An Answer to the Question stated, &c.*

it,

it, are willing enough to suppose, that much has been proved, because much has been said. Mine, I confess, are humble labours. I do not presume to instruct the learned, but simply to inform the body of the people; and I prefer that channel of conveyance, which is likely to spread farthest among them. The advocates of the ministry seem to me to write for fame, and to flatter themselves, that the size of their works will make them immortal. They pile up reluctant quarto upon solid folio, as if their labours, because they are gigantic, could contend with truth and heaven.

The writer of the volume in question meets me upon my own ground. He acknowledges there is no statute, by which the specific disability we speak of is created, but he affirms that the custom of parliament has been referred to, and that a case strictly in point has been produced, with the decision of the court upon it.—I thank him for coming so fairly to the point. He asserts, that the case of Mr. Walpole, is strictly in point to prove, that expulsion creates an absolute incapacity of being re-elected; and for this purpose he refers generally to the first vote of the house upon that occasion, without venturing to recite the vote itself. The unfair, disingenuous artifice of adopting that part of a precedent, which seems to suit his purpose, and omitting the remainder, deserves some pity, but cannot excite my resentment. He takes advantage eagerly of the first resolution, by which Mr. Walpole's incapacity is declared; and as to the two following, by which the candidate with the fewest votes was declared "not duly elected," and the elec-

tion itself vacated ; I dare say, he would be well satisfied, if they were for ever blotted out of the Journals of the house of commons. In fair argument, no part of a precedent should be admitted, unless the whole of it be given to us together. The author has divided his precedent, for he knew that, taken together, it produced a consequence directly the reverse of that, which he endeavours to draw from a vote of expulsion. But what will this honest person say, if I take him at his word, and demonstrate to him, that the house of commons never meant to found Mr. Walpole's incapacity upon his expulsion only ? What subterfuge will then remain ?

Let it be remembered that we are speaking of the intention of men, who lived more than half a century ago, and that such intention can only be collected from their words and actions, as they are delivered to us upon record. To prove their designs by a supposition of what they would have done, opposed to what they actually did, is mere trifling and impertinence. The vote, by which Mr. Walpole's incapacity was declared, is thus expressed, " That Robert Walpole, Esq; having
 " been this session of parliament committed a
 " prisoner to the Tower, and expelled this house
 " for a breach of trust in the execution of his of-
 " fice, and notorious corruption when secretary
 " at war, was and is incapable of being elected a
 " member to serve in this present parliament *."

Now,

* The ministerial advocates quote this resolution unfairly. They *alter* it to serve their purpose. In particular, see a tedious and laborious tract, generally ascribed to Jer. Dyson, Esq. entitled, *The Case of the late Election for the county of Middlesex*

Now, Sir, to my understanding, no proposition of this kind can be more evident, than that the house of commons, by this very vote, themselves understood, and meant to declare, that Mr. Walpole's incapacity arose from the crimes he had committed, not from the punishment the house annexed to them. The high breach of trust, the notorious corruption are stated in the strongest terms. They do not tell us he was incapable, because he was expelled, but because he had been guilty of such offences, as justly rendered him unworthy of a seat in parliament. If they had intended to fix the disability upon his expulsion alone, the mention of his crimes in the same vote, would have been highly improper. It could only perplex the minds of the electors, who, if they collected any thing from so confused a declaration of the law of parliament, must have concluded, that their representative had been declared incapable because he was highly guilty, not because he had been punished. But even admitting them to have understood it in the other sense, they must then, from the very terms of the vote, have united the idea of his being sent to the Tower with that of his expulsion, and considered his incapacity as the joint effect of both.

I do not mean to give an opinion upon the justice of the proceedings of the house of commons, with regard to Mr. Walpole; but certainly, if I admitted their censure to be well founded, I could

desex considered, &c. in page 15, where this vote is thus recited: "Resolved, That Robert Walpole, Esq; having been that session of parliament expelled the house, *was* and is incapable of being elected a member to serve in that present parliament."

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no way avoid agreeing with them in the consequence they drew from it. I could never have a doubt, in law or reason, that a man convicted of a high breach of trust, and of a notorious corruption, in the execution of a public office, was and ought to be incapable of sitting in the same parliament. Far from attempting to invalidate that vote, I should have wished that the incapacity declared by it could legally have been continued for ever.

Now, Sir, observe how forcibly the argument returns. The house of commons, upon the face of their proceedings, had the strongest motives to declare Mr. Walpole incapable of being re-elected. They thought such a man unworthy to sit among them. To that point they proceeded no further; for they respected the rights of the people, while they asserted their own. They did not infer, from Mr. Walpole's incapacity, that his opponent was duly elected; on the contrary, they declared Mr. Taylor, "Not duly elected," and the election itself void.

Such, however, is the precedent, which my honest friend assures us is strictly in point to prove, that expulsion of itself creates an incapacity of being elected. If it had been so, the present house of commons should at least have followed strictly the example before them, and should have stated to us, in the same vote, the crimes for which they expelled Mr. Wilkes; whereas they resolve simply, that, "having been expelled, he was and is "incapable." In this proceeding, I am authorised to affirm, they have neither statute nor custom, nor reason, nor one single precedent to support them. On the other side, there is indeed
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a precedent so strongly in point, that all the enchanted castles of ministerial magic fall before it. In the year 1698, (a period which the rankest Tory dare not except against) Mr. Wollaston was expelled, re-elected, and admitted to take his seat in the same parliament. The ministry have precluded themselves from all objections drawn from the cause of his expulsion, for they affirm absolutely that expulsion of itself creates the disability. Now, Sir, let sophistry evade, let falsehood assert, and impudence deny ;—here stands the precedent, a land-mark to direct us through a troubled sea of controversy, conspicuous and unremoved.

I have dwelt the longer upon the discussion of this point, because in *my* opinion it comprehends the whole question. The rest is unworthy of notice. We are enquiring whether incapacity be or be not created by expulsion. In the cases of Bedford and Malden, the incapacity of the persons returned was matter of public notoriety, for it was created by act of parliament. But really, Sir, my honest friend's suppositions are as unfavourable to him as his facts. He well knows that the clergy, besides that they are represented in common with their fellow subjects, have also a separate parliament of their own ;—that their incapacity to sit in the house of commons has been confirmed by repeated decisions of the house, and that the law of parliament, declared by those decisions, has been for above two centuries notorious and undisputed. The author is certainly at liberty to fancy cases, and make whatever comparisons he thinks proper ; his suppositions still continue at as great a distance from fact, as his wild discourses are from solid argument.

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The conclusion of his book is candid to an extreme. He offers to grant me all I desire. He thinks he may safely admit, that the case of Mr. Walpole makes directly against him, for it seems he has one grand solution *in petto* for all difficulties. *If, says he, I were to allow all this, it will only prove, that the law of election was different, in Queen Anne's time, from what it is at present.*

This indeed is more than I expected. The principle, I know, has been maintained in fact, but I never expected to see it so formally declared. What can he mean? does he assume this language to satisfy the doubts of the people, or does he mean to rouse their indignation? Are the ministry daring enough to affirm that the house of commons have a right to make and unmake the law of parliament at their pleasure?—Does the law of parliament, which we are so often told is the law of the land;—does the common right of every subject of the realm depend upon an arbitrary, capricious vote of one branch of the legislature?—The voice of truth and reason must be silent.

The ministry tell us plainly, that this is no longer a question of right, but of power and force alone. What was law yesterday is not law to-day: and now it seems we have no better rule to live by than the temporary discretion and fluctuating integrity of the house of commons.

Professions of patriotism are become stale and ridiculous. For my own part, I claim no merit from endeavouring to do a service to my fellow subjects. I have done it to the best of my understanding; and without looking for the approbation of other men, my conscience is satisfied.

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What remains to be done concerns the collective body of the people. They are now to determine for themselves whether they will firmly and constitutionally assert their rights, or make an humble slavish surrender of them at the feet of the ministry. To a generous mind there cannot be a doubt. We owe it to our ancestors to preserve intire those rights, which they have delivered to our care ; we owe it to our posterity, not to suffer their dearest inheritance to be destroyed. But if it were possible for us to be insensible of these sacred claims, there is yet an obligation binding upon ourselves, from which nothing can acquit us,—a personal interest, which we cannot surrender. To alienate even our own rights, would be a crime as much more enormous than suicide, as a life of civil society and freedom is superior to a bare existence ; and if life be the bounty of heaven, we scornfully reject the noblest part of the gift, if we consent to surrender that certain rule of living, without which the condition of human nature is not only miserable, but contemptible.

J U N I U S.

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The preceeding Letter not being thought sufficiently explicit on so interesting a Subject, the Writer added the following Explanation.

To the P R I N T E R.

S I R,

I Must beg of you to print a few lines in explanation of some passages in my last letter, which I see have been misunderstood.

1. When I said that the house of commons never meant to found Mr. Walpole's incapacity on his expulsion *only*. I meant no more than to deny the general proposition, that expulsion *alone* creates the incapacity. If there be any thing ambiguous in the expression, I beg leave to explain it by saying, that, in my opinion, expulsion neither creates, nor in any part contributes to create the incapacity in question.

2. I carefully avoided entering into the merits of Mr. Walpole's case. I did not enquire whether the house of commons acted justly, or whether they truly declared the law of parliament. My remarks went only to their apparent meaning and intention, as it stands declared in their own resolution.

3. I never meant to affirm that a commitment to the Tower created a disqualification. On the contrary, I considered that idea as an absurdity into which the ministry must inevitably fall, if they reasoned right upon their own principles.

The case of Mr. Wollaston speaks for itself. The ministry assert, that expulsion alone creates
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an absolute, complete incapacity to be re-elected to sit in the same parliament. This proposition they have uniformly maintained, without any condition of modification whatsoever. Mr. Wolaston was expelled, re-elected, and admitted to take his seat in the same parliament.—I leave it to the public to determine, whether this be a plain matter of fact, or mere nonsense and declamation.

J U N I U S.

*To Dr. William Blackstone, Solicitor General
to her Majesty.*

S I R,

I Shall make you no apology for considering a certain pamphlet*, in which your late conduct is defended, as written by yourself. The personal interest, the personal resentments, and above all, that wounded spirit, unaccustomed to reproach, and I hope not frequently conscious of deserving it, are signals which betray the author to us as plainly as if your name were in the title page. You appeal to the public in defence of your reputation. We hold it, Sir, that an injury offered to an individual is interesting to society. On this principle the people of England made common cause with Mr. Wilkes. On this principle, if *you* are injured, they will join in your re-

* This little tract is entitled, *A Letter to the Author of the Question stated.*

sentment. I shall not follow you through the insipid form of a third person, but address myself to you directly.

You seem to think the channel of a pamphlet more respectable and better suited to the dignity of your cause, than that of a news-paper. Be it so. Yet if news-papers are scurrilous, you must confess they are impartial. They give us, without any apparent preference, the wit and argument of the ministry, as well as the abusive dullness of the opposition. The scales are equally poised. It is not the printer's fault if the greater weight inclines the balance.

Your pamphlet then is divided into an attack upon Mr. Grenville's character, and a defence of your own. It would have been more consistent perhaps with your professed intentions, to have confined yourself to the last. But anger has some claim to indulgence, and railing is usually a relief to the mind. I hope you have found benefit from the experiment. It is not my design to enter into a formal vindication of Mr. Grenville upon his own principles. I have neither the honour of being personally known to him, nor do I pretend to be completely master of the facts. I need not run the risk of doing an injustice to his opinions or to his conduct, when your pamphlet alone carries, upon the face of it, a full vindication of both.

Your first reflection is, that Mr. Grenville was of all men the person, who should not have complained of inconsistency with regard to Mr. Wilkes. This, Sir, is either an unmeaning sneer, a peevish expression of resentment, or, if it means any thing, you plainly beg the question; for,
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whether his parliamentary conduct with regard to Mr. Wilkes has or has not been inconsistent, remains yet to be proved. But it seems he received upon the spot a sufficient chastisement for exercising *so unfairly* his talent of misrepresentation *. You are a lawyer, Sir, and know better than I do, upon what particular occasions a talent for misrepresentation may be *fairly* exerted; but to punish a man a second time, when he has been once sufficiently chastised, is rather too severe. It is not in the laws of England; it is not in your own commentaries, nor is it yet, I believe, in the new law you have revealed to the house of commons. I hope this doctrine has no existence but in your own heart. After all, Sir, if you had consulted that sober discretion, which you seem to oppose with triumph to the honest jollity of a tavern, it might have occurred to you that, although you could have succeeded in fixing a charge of inconsistency upon Mr. Grenville, it would not have tended in any shape to exculpate yourself.

Your next insinuation, that Sir William Meredith had hastily adopted the false glosses of his
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* The chastisement here alluded to was this. Dr. Blackstone while he was speaking in the house, had not his commentaries in view; and when the contradiction produced by Mr. Grenville, stared him in the face, a pause ensued; and it was expected the doctor would have said something in his defence; but in the first moments of the charge, his presence of mind failed him; and Mr. Grenville shook his head. It was then that Sir F---r N--- with his usual elegance, wish'd *the Hon. Gentleman, instead of shaking his head, would shake a good argument out of it.* The Doctor had not then thought of those subtleties and refinements which have since been urged in his defence.

new Ally is of the same sort with the first. It conveys a sneer as little worthy of the gravity of your character, as it is useless to your defence. It is of little moment to the public to enquire by whom the charge was conceived, or by whom it was adopted. The only question we ask is, whether or not it be true. The remainder of your reflections upon Mr. Grenville's conduct destroy themselves. He could not possibly come prepared to traduce your integrity to the house. He could not foresee that you would even speak upon the question, much less could he foresee that you would maintain a direct contradiction of that doctrine which you had solemnly, disinterestedly, and upon soberest reflection delivered to the public *. He came armed indeed with what he thought a respectable authority, to support what he was convinced was the cause of truth, and I doubt not he intended to give you, in the course of the debate, an honourable and public testimony of his esteem. Thinking highly of his abilities, I cannot however allow him the gift of divination. As to what you are pleased to call a plan coolly formed to impose upon the house of commons, and his producing it without provocation at midnight, I consider it as the language of pique and invective, therefore unworthy of regard. But, Sir, I am sensible I have followed your example too long, and wandered from the point.

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* Mr. Grenville, upon the debate, in order to prove to the House incontestably that Mr. W. was under no legal disqualification at the time of his election, produced a passage from Dr. Blackstone's book, in which all the legal disqualifications were recited, not one of which affected Mr. Wilkes.

The quotation from your commentaries is matter of record. It can neither be *altered* by your friends, nor misrepresented by your enemies, and I am willing to take your own word for what you said in the house of commons. If there be a real difference between what you have written and what you have spoken, you confess that your book ought to be the standard. Now, Sir, if words mean any thing, I apprehend that when a long enumeration of disqualifications (whether by statute or the custom of parliament) concludes with these general comprehensive words, ‘ but subject ‘ to these restrictions and disqualifications, *every* ‘ subject of the realm is eligible of common ‘ right,’ a reader of a plain understanding must of course rest satisfied that no species of disqualifications whatsoever had been omitted. The known character of the author, and the apparent accuracy with which the whole work is compiled, would confirm him in his opinion ; nor could he possibly form any other judgment, without looking upon your commentaries in the same light in which you consider those penal laws, which though not repealed are fallen into disuse, and are now in effect A SNARE TO THE UNWARY.

You tell us indeed that it was not part of your plan to specify any temporary incapacity, and that you could not, without a spirit of prophecy, have specified the disability of a private individual, subsequent to the period at which you wrote. What your plan was I know not ; but what it should have been, in order to compleat the work you have given us, is by no means difficult to determine. The incapacity, which you call temporary,

porary, may continue seven years; and though you might not have foreseen the particular case of Mr. Wilkes, you might and should have foreseen the possibility of *such* a case, and told us how far the house of commons were authorized to proceed in it by the law and custom of parliament. The freeholders of Middlesex would then have known what they had to trust to, and would never have returned Mr. Wilkes, when colonel Luttrell was a candidate against him. They would have chose some indifferent person rather than submit to be represented by the object of their contempt and detestation.

Your attempt to distinguish between disabilities, which affect whole classes of men, and those which affect individuals only, is really unworthy of your understanding. Your commentaries had taught me that, although the instance, in which a penal law is exerted, be particular, the laws themselves are general. They are made for the benefit and instruction of the public, though the penalty falls only upon an individual. You cannot but know, Sir, that what was Mr. Wilkes's case yesterday may be your's or mine to-morrow, and that consequently the common right of every subject of the realm is invaded by it. Professing therefore to treat of the constitution of the house of commons, and of the laws and customs relative to that constitution, you certainly were guilty of a most unpardonable omission, in taking no notice of a right and privilege of the house, more extraordinary and more arbitrary than all the others they possess put together. If the expulsion of a member, not under any other legal disability,
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of itself creates in him an incapacity to be re-elected, I see a ready way marked out, by which the majority may at any time remove the honestest and ablest men who happen to be in opposition to them. To say that they *will not* make this extravagant use of their power, would be a language unfit for a man so learned in the laws as you are. By your doctrine, Sir, they *have* the power, and laws you know are intended to guard against what men *may* do, not to trust to what they will do.

Upon the whole, Sir, the charge against you is of a plain, simple nature : It appears even upon the face of your own pamphlet. On the contrary, your justification of yourself is full of subtlety and refinement, and in some places not very intelligible. If I were personally your enemy, I should dwell, with a malignant pleasure, upon those great and useful qualifications, which you certainly possess, and by which you once acquired, though they could not preserve to you the respect and esteem of your country, I should enumerate the honours you have lost, and the virtues you have disgraced : But having no private resentments to gratify, I think it sufficient to have given my opinion of your public conduct, leaving the punishment it deserves to your closet and to yourself.

JUNIUS.

To the Printer.

S I R,

I Find myself unexpectedly married in the Newspapers, without my knowledge or consent. Since I am fated to be a husband, I hope at least the lady will perform the principal duty of a wife. Marriages, they say, are made in heaven, but they are consummated upon earth; and since *Junia* § has adopted my name, she cannot, in common matrimonial decency, refuse to make me a tender of her person. Politics are too barren a subject for a new-married couple. I should be glad to furnish her with one more fit for a lady to handle, and better suited to the natural dexterity of her sex. In short if *Junia* be young and handsome, she will have no reason to complain of my method of conducting an argument. I abominate all tergiversation in discourse, and she may be assured that whatever I advance, whether it be weak or forcible, shall, at any rate, be directly in point. It is true I am a strenuous advocate for liberty and property, but when these rights are invaded by a pretty woman, I am neither able to defend my money nor my freedom. The divine right of beauty is the only one an Englishman ought to acknowledge, and a pretty woman the only tyrant he is not authorised to resist.

J U N I U S.

§ The signature of a letter in the Papers.

To

To his Grace the D—— of B——.

MY LORD,

Sept. 18. 1769.

YOU are so little accustomed to receive any marks of respect or esteem from the public, that if, in the following lines, a compliment or expression of applause should escape me, I fear you would consider it as a mockery of your established character, and perhaps an insult to your understanding. You have nice feelings, my Lord, if we may judge from your resentments. Cautious therefore of giving offence, where you have so little deserved it, I shall leave the illustration of your virtues to other hands. Your friends have a privilege to play upon the easiness of your temper, or possibly they are better acquainted with your good qualities than I am. You have done good by stealth. Thee est is upon record. You have still left ample room for speculation, when panegyric is exhausted.

You are indeed a very considerable man. The highest rank ;—a splendid fortune ; and a name, glorious till it was yours, were sufficient to have supported you with meaner abilities than I think you possess. From the first, you derived a constitutional claim to respect ; from the second, a natural extensive authority ;—the last created a partial expectation of hereditary virtues. The use you have made of these uncommon advantages might have been more honourable to yourself,

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You are indeed a very considerable man. The highest rank;—a splendid fortune; and a name, glorious till it was yours, were sufficient to have supported you with meaner abilities than I think you possess. From the first, you derived a constitutional claim to respect; from the second, a natural extensive authority;—the last created a partial expectation of hereditary virtues. The use you have made of these uncommon advantages might have been more honourable to yourself,

but could not be more instructive to mankind. We may trace it in the veneration of your country, the choice of your friends, and in the accomplishment of every sanguine hope, which the public might have conceived from the illustrious name of R——l.

The eminence of your station gave you a commanding prospect of your duty. The road, which led to honour, was open to your view. You could not lose it by mistake, and you had no temptation to depart from it by design. Compare the natural dignity and importance of the richest Peer of England; — the noble independence which he might have maintained in parliament; and the real interest and respect which he might have acquired, not only in parliament, but through the whole kingdom. Compare these glorious distinctions with the ambition of holding a share in government, the emoluments of a place, the sale of a borough, or the purchase of a corporation: and though you may not regret the virtues which create respect, you may see, with anguish, how much real importance and authority you have lost. Consider the character of an independent virtuous Duke of ———; imagine what he might be in this country, then reflect one moment upon what you are. If it be possible for me to withdraw my attention from the fact, I will tell you in theory what such a man might be.

Conscious of his own weight and importance, his conduct in parliament would be directed by nothing but the constitutional duty of a peer. He would consider himself as a guardian of the laws. Willing to support the just measures of government, but determined to observe the conduct of
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the minister with suspicion, he would oppose the violence of faction with as much firmness, as the encroachments of prerogative. He would be as little capable of bargaining with the minister for places for himself, or his dependants, as of descending to mix himself in the intrigues of opposition. Whenever an important question called for his opinion in parliament, he would be heard, by the most profligate minister, with deference and respect. His authority would either sanctify or disgrace the measures of government—The people would look up to him as to their protector, and a virtuous prince would have one honest man in his dominions, in whose integrity and judgment he might safely confide. If it should be the will of Providence to afflict him with a domestic misfortune, he would submit to the stroke, with feeling, but not without dignity. He would consider the people as his children, and receive a generous heart-felt consolation, in the sympathising tears, and blessings of his country.

Your Grace may probably discover something more intelligible in the negative part of this illustrious character. The man I have described would never prostitute his dignity in parliament by an indecent violence either in opposing or defending a minister. He would not at one moment rancorously persecute, at another basely cringe to the favourite of his S——n. After outraging the royal dignity with peremptory conditions, little short of menace and hostility, he would never descend to the humility of soliciting an interview with the Favourite, and of offering to recover, at any price, the honour of his friendship. Though deceived perhaps in his youth, he would not,
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through the course of a long life, have invariably chosen his friends from among the most profligate of mankind. His own honour would have forbidden him from mixing his private pleasures or conversation with jockeys, gamesters, blasphemers, gladiators, or buffoons. He would then have never felt, much less would he have submitted to the humiliating dishonest necessity, of engaging in the interests and intrigues of his dependants, of supplying their vices, or relieving their beggary, at the expence of his country. He would not have betrayed such ignorance, or such contempt of the constitution, as openly to avow in a court of justice, the purchase and sale of a borough. He would not have thought it consistent with his rank in the state, or even with his personal importance, to be the little tyrant of a little corporation. He would never have been insulted with virtues, which he had laboured to extinguish, nor suffered the disgrace of a mortifying defeat, which has made him ridiculous and contemptible, even to the few by whom he was not detested.—I reverence the afflictions of a good man—his sorrows are sacred. But how can we take part in the distresses of a man, whom we can neither love nor esteem ; or feel for a calamity, of which he himself is insensible ? Where was the father's heart, when he could look for, or find an immediate consolation for the loss of an only son, in consultations and bargains for a place at court, and even in the misery of balloting at the India House !

Admitting then that you have mistaken or deserted those honourable principles, which ought to have directed your conduct ; admitting, that you have

have as little claim to private affection as to public esteem, let us see with what abilities, with what degree of judgment you have carried your own system into execution. A great man, in the success and even in the magnitude of his crimes, finds a rescue from contempt. Your Grace is every way unfortunate. Yet I will not look back to those ridiculous scenes, by which, in your earlier days, you thought it an honour to be distinguished; the recorded stripes, the public infamy, your own sufferings, or Mr. Rigby's fortitude. These events undoubtedly left an impression, though not upon your mind. To such a mind, it may perhaps be a pleasure to reflect, that there is hardly a corner of any of his Majesty's kingdoms, except France, in which, at one time or other, your valuable life has not been in danger. Amiable man! we see and acknowledge the protection of Providence, by which you have so often escaped the personal detestation of your fellow subjects, and are still reserved for the public justice of your country.

Your history begins to be important at that auspicious period, at which you were deputed to represent the Earl of Bute, at the court of Versailles. It was an honourable office, and executed with the same spirit with which it was accepted. Your patrons wanted an ambassador, who would submit to make concessions, without daring to insist upon any honourable condition for his Sovereign. Their business required a man, who had as little feeling for his own dignity, as for the welfare of his country; and they found him in the first rank of the nobility. Belleisle, Goree, Guadaloupe, St. Lucia, Martinique, the Fishery, and the Havannah,

vannah, are glorious monuments of your Grace's talents for negociation. My Lord, we are too well acquainted with your pecuniary character, to think it possible that so many public sacrifices should have been made, without some private compensations. Your conduct carries with it an interior evidence, beyond all the legal proofs of a court of justice. Even the callous pride of Lord Egremont was alarmed. He saw and felt his own dishonour in corresponding with you; and there certainly was a moment, at which he meant to have resisted, had not a fatal lethargy prevailed over his faculties, and carried all sense and memory away with it.

I will not pretend to specify the secret terms on which you were invited to support an administration which Lord Bute pretended to leave in full possession of their ministerial authority, and perfectly masters of themselves. He was not of a temper to relinquish power, though he retired from employment. Stipulations were certainly made between your Grace and him, and certainly violated. After two years submission, you thought you had collected a strength sufficient to controul his influence, and that it was your turn to be a tyrant, because you had been a slave. When you found yourself mistaken in your opinion of your gracious Master's firmness, disappointment got the better of all your humble discretion, and carried you to an excess of outrage to his person, as distant from true spirit, as from all decency and respect. After robbing him of the rights of a King, you would not permit him to preserve the honour of a gentleman. It was then Lord Weymouth was nominated to Ireland, and dispatched
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(we well remember with what indecent hurry) to plunder the treasury of the first fruits of an employment which you well knew he was never to execute.

This sudden declaration of war against the Favourite, might have given you a momentary merit with the public, if it had either been adopted upon principle, or maintained with resolution. Without looking back to all your former servility, we need only observe your subsequent conduct, to see upon what motives you acted. Apparently united with Mr. Grenville, you waited until Lord Rockingham's feeble administration should dissolve in its own weakness.—The moment their dismissal was suspected, the moment you perceived that another system was adopted in the closet ; you thought it no disgrace to return to your former dependance, and solicit once more the friendship of Lord Bute. You begged an interview, at which he had spirit enough to treat you with contempt.

It would now be of little use to point out, by what a train of weak, injudicious measures, it became necessary, or was thought so, to call you back to a share in the administration. The friends, whom you did not in the least instance desert, were not of a character to add strength or credit to government ; and at that time your alliance with the Duke of Grafton was, I presume, hardly foreseen. We must look for other stipulations, to account for that sudden resolution of the closet, by which three of your dependants (whose characters, I think, cannot be less respected than they are) were advanced to offices, through which you might again controul the minister, and probably engross the whole direction of affairs.

The possession of absolute power is now once more within your reach. The measures you have taken to obtain and confirm it, are too gross to escape the eyes of a discerning judicious prince. His palace is besieged; the lines of circumvallation are drawing round him; and unless he finds a resource in his own activity, or in the attachment of the real friends of his family, the best of princes must submit to the confinement of a state prisoner, until your Grace's death, or some less fortunate event, shall raise the siege. For the present, you may safely resume that stile of insult and menace, which even a private gentleman cannot submit to hear without being contemptible. Mr. Mackenzie's history is not yet forgotten, and you may find precedents enough of the mode in which an imperious subject may signify his pleasure to his sovereign. Where will this gracious monarch look for assistance, when the wretched G——n could forget his obligations to his master, and desert him for a hollow alliance with such a man as the Duke of ——?

Let us consider you, then, as arrived at the summit of worldly greatness: let us suppose, that all your plans of avarice and ambition are accomplished, and your most sanguine wishes gratified in the fear, as well as the hatred of the people: Can Age itself forget that you are now in the last act of life? Can grey hairs make folly venerable? And is there no period to be reserved for meditation and retirement? For shame! my Lord: Let it not be recorded of you, that the latest moments of your life were dedicated to the same unworthy pursuits, the same busy agitations,
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in which your youth and manhood were exhausted. Consider that, although you cannot disgrace your former life, you are violating the character of age, and exposing the impotent imbecillity, after you have lost the vigour of the passions.

Your friends will ask, perhaps, Whither shall this unhappy old man retire? Can he remain in the metropolis, where his life has been so often threatened, and his palace so often attacked? If he returns to W——n, scorn and mockery await him. He must create a solitude round his estate, if he would avoid the face of reproach and derision. At Plymouth, his destruction would be more than probable; at Exeter, inevitable. No honest Englishman will ever forget his attachment, nor any honest Scotchman forgive his treachery to Lord Bute. At every town he enters, he must change his liveries and his name. Which ever way he flies, the *Hue and Cry* of the country pursues him.

In another kingdom indeed, the blessings of his administration have been more sensibly felt;—his virtues better understood;—or at worst, they will not, for him alone, forget their hospitality.—As well might VERRES have returned to Sicily. You have twice escaped, my Lord; beware of a third experiment. The indignation of a whole people, plundered, insulted, and oppressed as they have been, will not always be disappointed.

It is in vain therefore to shift the scene. You can no more fly from your enemies than from yourself. Persecuted abroad, you look into your own heart for consolation, and find nothing but reproaches and despair. But, my Lord, you may
quit

quit the field of business, though not the field of danger; and though you cannot be safe, you may cease to be ridiculous. I fear you have listened too long to the advice of those pernicious friends, with whose interests you have fordidly united your own, and for whom you have sacrificed every thing that ought to be dear to a man of honour. They are still base enough to encourage the follies of your age, as they once did the vices of your youth. As little acquainted with the rules of decorum, as with the laws of morality, they will not suffer you to profit by experience, nor even to consult the propriety of a bad character. Even now they tell you, that life is no more than a dramatic scene, in which the hero should preserve his consistency to the last, and that as you lived without virtue, you should die without repentance.

JUNIUS.